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CHARLES B. ALEXANDER.

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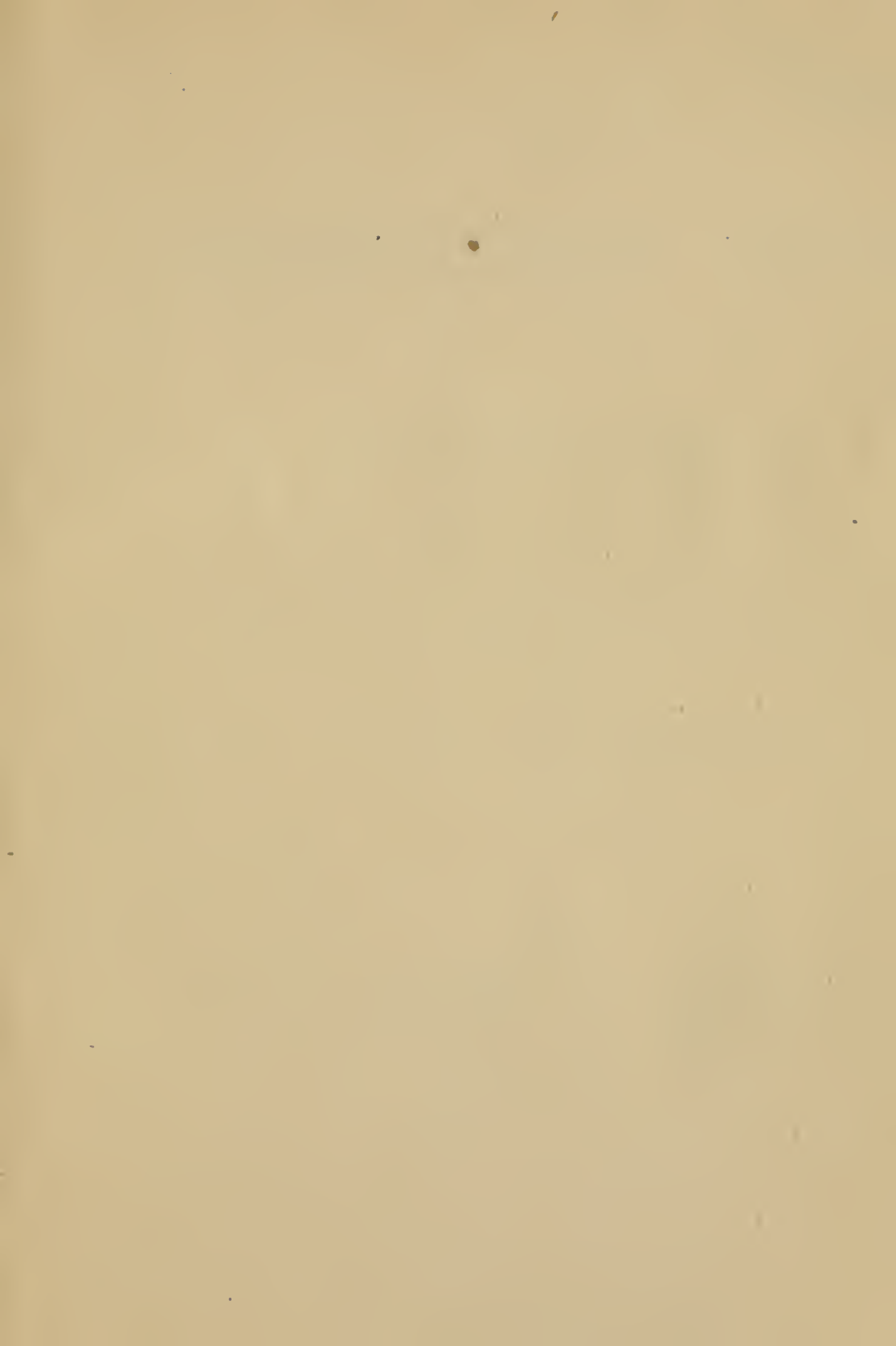
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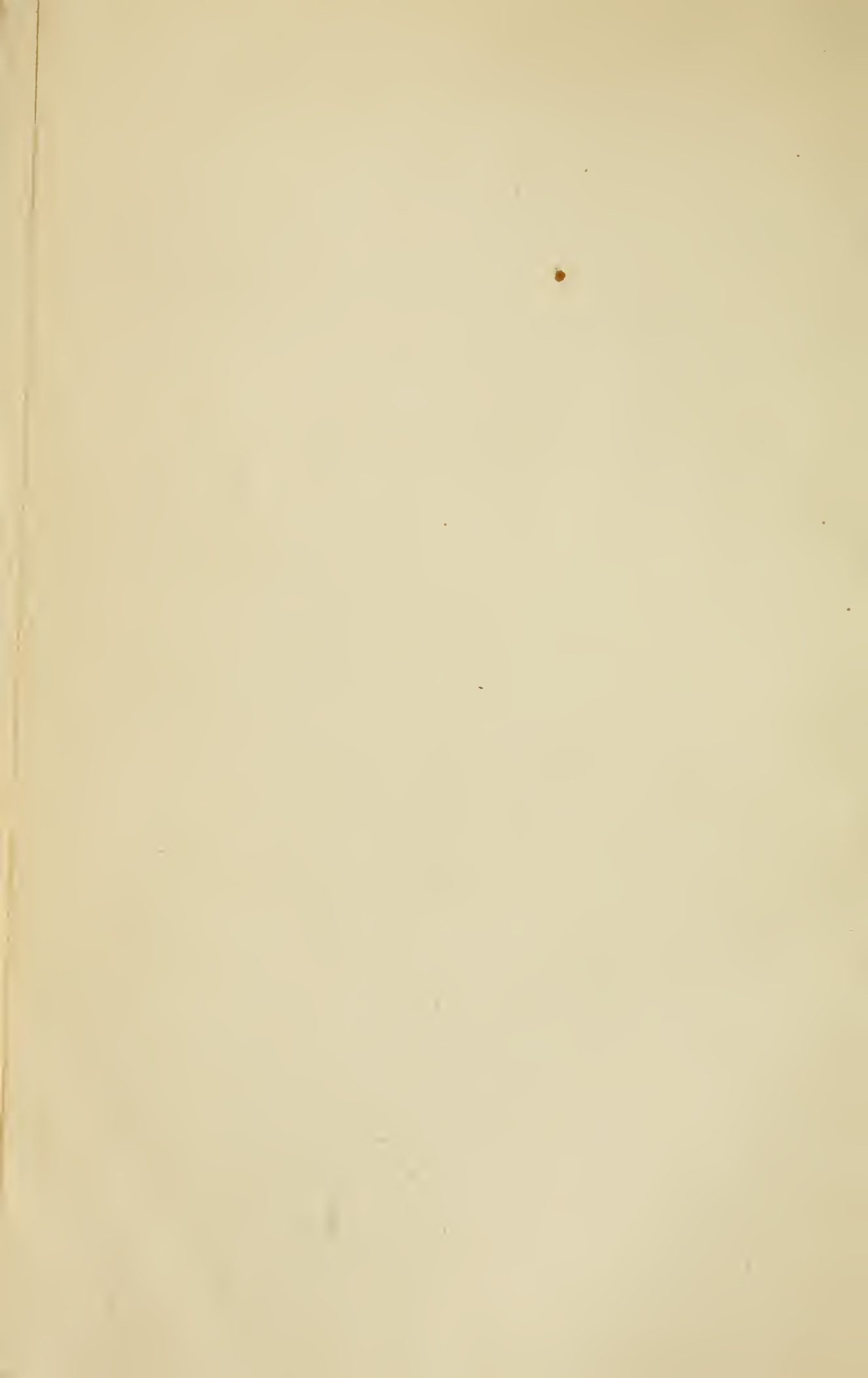












H I S T O R Y

OF THE

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

IN IRELAND.

CONDENSED FROM THE STANDARD WORK

OF

J. S. REID AND KILLEN.

BY

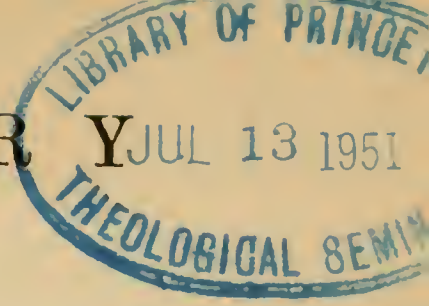
REV. SAMUEL D. ALEXANDER.

NEW YORK:

ROBERT CARTER & BROTHERS,

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1860.





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## P R E F A C E .

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IN the year 1841 Ireland contained above eight million inhabitants, the highest point it had ever reached, and after that it diminished, but has perhaps again attained the same sum. Of this population about four-fifths are Roman Catholics and one-fifth Protestants. Of the latter nearly one-half are Presbyterians, while the rest are divided among the Episcopalians, (which is the Established Church,) and the smaller bodies of Dissenters. The Established Church although the smallest of the three great denominations, is sustained by the whole people, while nine-tenths belong to other Churches and support them.

This is an unparalleled anomaly, as everywhere else the religion of the majority is the established religion, even where the rulers are Dissenters, as in Saxony and Belgium. Another remarkable fact is the distribution of confessions, which are not spread in their proportion over the whole island, but each has its stronghold in the provinces.

There are in Ireland thirty-two counties, grouped in four provinces, for administrative purposes : Ulster, in the north ; Leinster, in the east ; Munster, in the south ; and Connaught, in the west. The provinces of Munster and Connaught are almost wholly Popish ; Leinster is partly Episcopal, while Ulster is chiefly Presbyterian. And although Presbyterianism is now more generally diffused, yet it is still the strongest there, and was once almost confined to that province ; so that the history of the Irish Presbyterian Church is the same as the history of the Ulster Presbyterian Church.

This province comprises the nine counties of Antrim, Armagh, Cavan, Donegal, Down, Fermanagh, Londonderry, Monaghan, and Tyrone. The two most populous, (Down and Antrim,) with another less so, (Londonderry,) are in the east and northeast of the province, nearest to Scotland, and thus became the first Presbyterian settlements in the island, through emigration from that kingdom.

This brief statement is made in lieu of a more extended one which my brother, the late J. Addison Alexander, D. D., had purposed to prepare on the very day of his death, and at whose instance this condensed history was undertaken.

The object of the publication is not to super-



sede the original and standard work, but simply to give the main thread of the history, so as to bring it within the reach of those to whom the more expensive original is not accessible, and thus contribute to preserve the memory of our first mother in the hearts not only of her Irish children, but of her American descendants, who are now three times more numerous than the whole Presbyterian population of Ireland.

It has been no easy task to condense fifteen hundred closely printed octavo pages into this small volume ; and if the vivacity and interest of the original work has in any degree been sacrificed, it is only that the essential facts may be offered to those who would otherwise remain ignorant of the history of their mother Church.

I have been greatly aided in this task by a brief but able compilation of Reid and Killen, by the Rev. Thomas Witherow, of Maghera, and by a still larger one prepared by my brother, while lecturing upon the subject to his classes in Princeton.

It is proper to state here that before commencing this work Dr. Killen was consulted as to his intention of preparing an abridgement. In a letter he states, that while he had in his possession much new matter which might be incorporated in a new edition, yet from the pressure of

professional duties, and other works upon which he is engaged, it will be impossible for him to undertake the labor and that it is doubtful whether a new edition of the original work in its present form will ever appear.

S. D. ALEXANDER.

NEW YORK, Feb., 1860.

## INTRODUCTION.

NOTWITHSTANDING the uncertainty which overhangs the introduction of the Gospel into Ireland, the downfall of Druidism, the mission of St. Patrick, and the doctrine which he taught, it is now commonly agreed that the primitive Church of Ireland, though not free from error, differed long and materially from that of Rome, especially in reference to the reading of the Scriptures, the doctrine of grace, the mode of worship, the marriage of the clergy, and the organization of the Church itself.

This was the last of the national churches in the west of Europe which preserved its independence and resisted all encroachments of the papal see, until the middle of the twelfth century, when Adrian IV. conferred the kingdom upon Henry II. of England, on condition that he would enforce subjection and conformity to Rome, which was done within a century.

The evils which accompanied this change wherever it took place were aggravated here by the political condition of the country, its remoteness from the seat of government in England, and its easy intercourse with Rome through France and Spain, which ultimately gave the Pope the power of filling all important offices, not only in the Church but also in the State.

The subservience of the clergy to the Pope being unchecked, as in other countries, by the influence of



the crown, was pushed to an extreme, occasioning continual conflicts between the higher and lower clergy, between foreigners and natives, between civil and ecclesiastical tribunals, between priests and people.

Though the country was impoverished by constant depredations, the exactions of the clergy were unsparing and enforced by every form of fraud and violence, in the shape of tithes, pecuniary penances, indulgences, and fees for all official acts, of which receipts a small part only was assigned to the support of schools and the encouragement of learning. The learning for which Ireland had once been famous was no more; the lower clergy received scanty instruction at cathedral schools; the higher, at Oxford, and especially at Paris; while the inmates of the monasteries spent their time in sloth or in laborious trifles.

The morals of the clergy, universally corrupt before the Reformation, were nowhere more so than in Ireland, where the monks and parish priests vied with each other both in profligacy and in influence over the degraded people. There are said to have been six hundred monasteries in the island, belonging to eighteen monastic orders, and equal in the number of their inmates to the rest of the inhabitants. Among the current superstitions were the worship of relics and religious pilgrimages, more especially to Patrick's Purgatory, on an island in Lough Derg in the county of Donegal, which, although suppressed by Pope Alexander VI. in 1497, is still frequented to the present day.

The laity were ignorant, uncivilized, and grossly superstitious. At the close of the reign of Henry VIII. most of the Irish lords were unable to sign their names.

They were either slaves or tyrants of the priesthood. In the fifteenth century an Irish chief destroyed forty churches in Ulster, and was himself killed in one where he had taken refuge. An Earl of Kildare, near the end of the next century, burnt down the cathedral of Cashel, which he afterward said he would not have done but that he thought the archbishop was in it. The Church did nothing to instruct the people. Preaching was either quite neglected or consisted of mere legendary fables. The Irish language was proscribed and never printed until after the Reformation.

This began later than in England and Scotland, from the turbulent state of the island, its insulation from the rest of Europe, its want of schools and books, the devotion of the people to the old religion, the absorption of the English settlers in extending their conquests, the absence of political and popular complaints against the papal see, the want of an educated gentry and of satirists to expose its abuses. No legislative notice was taken of the reformed doctrines till the reign of Mary, in 1556, when three English statutes against heresy were re-enacted and enforced in Ireland.

In the meantime the country was surprised when Henry VIII., in 1535, sent George Brown, Provincial of the Augustinians in England, to be Archbishop of Dublin, and to enforce the king's supremacy in Ireland. This demand was opposed by Cromer, Archbishop of Armagh, and his suffragans, on the ground that the king derived his right to govern Ireland from the Pope. After a year of cautious inactivity, a Parliament was called by the Lord Lieutenant, Leonard Grey, in May, 1536, and, on Brown's motion, passed

the acts required, abjuring all dependence on the see of Rome, forbidding all appeals to it, dissolving monasteries and transferring their revenues to the crown, acknowledging the king as head of the Church, and attaching severe penalties to all abuse of him, as being an usurper, tyrant, schismatic, or heretic.

But though public opposition was thus silenced, the adherents of the Pope became more zealous, and the worst corruptions remained unreformed. Brown appears to have attempted nothing more than the assertion of the king's supremacy for two years, when Cromwell, Henry VIII.'s favorite minister, required him to purge the churches of his province from idolatry. But even this order was successfully evaded, and Brown wrote to Cromwell for new powers, representing both the clergy and laity as either grossly ignorant or bigoted adherents of the Roman see. Thus it happened that, when Henry VIII. died, the Reformation had only been introduced by the authorities, without the least participation of the people or the lower clergy, as in England and Scotland. Even under the reforming reign of Edward VI., only one reforming measure was adopted, to wit, the introduction of an English liturgy, commanded by the king, submitted by his Deputy, Sir Anthony Saintleger, to a council of bishops and clergy, and rejected by Dowdal, the successor of Cromer in the see of Armagh, on the ground that every illiterate fellow could say mass, to which the Deputy replied that there were many priests who could not pronounce the Latin nor know what it meant. After Dowdal and his suffragans withdrew, the book was offered by Saintleger to Brown, who



submitted to the king's command "as Jesus did to Cæsar," and was followed by four other bishops.

The liturgy was used for the first time in Christ Church, Dublin, on Easter Day, 1551, and is said to have been the first book printed in Ireland. This measure produced little change, being very imperfectly enforced. Sir Anthony Saintleger, who seems to have been at heart a papist, was succeeded by Sir James Croft, who sought in vain to conciliate the refractory primate, or to convince him by a conference with Staples, Bishop of Meath. At last the primacy was transferred from Armagh to Dublin, and Dowdal left the country. But the Reformation still moved slowly; the preparation of an Irish liturgy was still delayed; and such was the neglect of preaching, that in Dublin, during the year 1552, there was none at all. This tardy progress of the truth has been erroneously ascribed to excessive violence in its propagation; but the only outrage upon record was of military not religious origin, and the fault of the Reformers was deficiency and not excess of zeal, a fault apparently arising from the absence of all deep convictions as to truth and error in the mind of Brown and his associates. Some new life was infused into the work when Cranmer, after ineffectual attempts in other quarters, induced John Bale to become Bishop of Ossory and Hugh Goodacre Archbishop of Armagh. Both attacked popery with boldness; but Goodacre died in three months, it is said, by poison, and Bale, though much beloved, was driven out on the death of King Edward, and escaped to the continent; and although he returned to England at Elizabeth's accession, he

declined all preferment, being now in principles a Nonconformist.

The accession of Mary undid all that had been done, restoring Dowdal and the mass, deposing Brown and four other bishops who had married, while eight recanted and retained their sees. There was a jubilee in honor of this triumph, and as no opposition was attempted, there was little persecution, so that refugees from England actually sought an asylum in Ireland, and there sowed the seeds of reformation more effectually than it had been done during the previous Protestant ascendancy. This was restored upon the death of Mary, but with less effect than in England, from the repetition of the former error in attempting to reform religion by a forced external conformity, without any adequate instruction in the truth.

For six months after the accession of Elizabeth every thing remained in statu quo; but in May, 1559, the dean of Christ Church, Dublin, received orders to put texts of Scripture in the place of pictures, images, and relics. In the other cathedral, St. Patrick's, images remained in 1604; and from one of the Irish canons it would seem that papal ornaments were still found in the churches thirty years later. A more effectual movement was occasioned by the gift of two large English Bibles to the two cathedrals by Archbishop Heath of York, to be kept there for the public use; a privilege of which the people eagerly availed themselves, both as hearers and readers, in consequence of which there was a great demand for Bibles, so that a few years later, in 1616, when an edition of small size was first imported, a single bookseller sold seven thousand copies in less than two years.

In the meantime a Parliament was held in Dublin, early in 1560, which again abolished popery and legalized the Reformation, with some resistance from the nobles, but with shameless tergiversation on the part of the clergy, only two out of nineteen bishops adhering to the old faith. By this Parliament the ecclesiastical jurisdiction was restored to the crown, a new oath of supremacy appointed, the use of the common prayer enforced, and all required to attend the service of the Church, which, by an absurd violation of the Reformation principle, was directed to be read where the minister or people did not understand English, not in the Irish language, known to both parties, but in the Latin, unknown to either.. The only ground assigned for this measure, which affected the whole country outside of the chief towns, was the want of printed books in Irish and of ministers acquainted with the language; both of which deficiencies might have been and should have been supplied by the authorities

At a general meeting of the clergy, called by the Earl of Sussex at the Queen's command, the Bishop of Meath (Walsh) refused to adopt the prayer book, and the Bishop of Kildare (Levrous) declined subjection to a woman, on the ground that Christ had given no such power even to his mother, and that Paul forbids a woman to speak in the church, much less to rule there. Both these bishops were deposed, and one of them, Walsh, imprisoned many years, while the other became a schoolmaster. This example, however, was followed by many of the clergy, some going abroad and others into remote districts, where they were left unmolested. The vacancies thus made were very slowly filled, the bishopric of Clogher being occupied only one year in



more than half a century (1557–1610), the primacy itself remaining unfilled four years, the remoter dioceses being still at the disposal of the Pope, and divine service so extensively neglected that many of the churches fell into decay, and thus became unfit for use.

Another hindrance to the Reformation was the violent exaction of conformity by fine and even military force, and the rigorous treatment of all popish priests and friars, as both recusants and rebels, without any effort either to enlighten or conciliate the people. This neglect of the religious interests of Ireland by an energetic and sagacious government, combined with the old antipathy of races and the powerful influence of Rome and Spain, to confine the work of reformation almost wholly to the cities and chief towns, while the rural population remained grossly ignorant and superstitious.

In 1569 a second Parliament, under Sir Henry Sydney, passed two beneficial acts, one conferring on the Lord Lieutenant the right of presentation to all cathedral dignities in Munster and Connaught, with the exception of four dioceses (Waterford, Cork, Limerick, and Cashel), on the ground that they had long been filled by the ignorant and illiterate offspring of the previous incumbent; the other ordering schools, with English teachers, to be erected in the chief towns of every diocese; a third act, “for the reparation of parochial churches,” although sent from England to the Irish Parliament, was never passed into a law.

The neglect of the government was partially made good by private enterprise. Two dignitaries of St. Patrick’s cathedral, Nicholas Walsh and John Kearney, were the means of introducing the first font of

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Irish type and printing the liturgy in that tongue, as well as procuring the appointment of a church in every chief town for an Irish service. Although these measures were not fully carried into execution till the next reign, a beginning was made in vernacular preaching and religious books, including a translation of the New Testament, begun by Walsh, then Bishop of Ossory, but interrupted by his murder in 1585, completed by Archbishop Daniel of Tuam, and finally put to press in 1602.

In 1576 Sir Henry Sydney made a melancholy representation to Queen Elizabeth of the dilapidated state of the churches and the want of educated ministers, proposing that they should be brought from Scotland, or that some of the well-benificed English clergy should "undertake this apostleship, and that at their own charges." These proposals seem to have received no attention, and at the next Irish Parliament, attended by four archbishops and twenty bishops, not a single act was passed relating to religion. But another plan, proposed by Sydney in 1569 without effect, was renewed and carried into execution twenty years later. This was the founding of a university at Dublin (opened in 1593) with a special view to the education of a native ministry, as a necessary means to the study of the Irish language, for which purpose scholarships, called "Natives Places," were endowed and still continue, though the college is no longer on the same liberal principles as at first, when the distinction between churchmen and dissenters was as yet unknown, no attempt to enforce a strict conformity and outward uniformity having been made until the reign of Charles I. The two first fellows of Trinity College were Scotch



Presbyterians, resident in Ireland as secret agents of King James, commissioned to secure his peaceable succession to the throne. One of them (Fullerton) was knighted and made treasurer of the royal household when the king removed to London. The other (Hamilton) was afterwards ennobled as Lord Claneboy, and possessed of large estates in Ulster, where, for a time, he was a zealous patron of the Presbyterian interest. The two first Provosts of the college were English Nonconformists, Walter Travers, one of the most famous of the Puritans, and Henry Alvey, less renowned but no less zealous, both of whom were driven by Archbishop Whitgift's persecutions to Ireland, where they successively presided over the new college, and the latter contributed (with Hamilton, already mentioned) to the vast learning and the liberal spirit of Archbishop Ussher.

That these reformatory measures, partial and imperfect as they were, did not immediately bear much fruit, may be gathered from the poet Spenser's beautiful but terrible description of the ignorance and sloth of the Reformed clergy, as compared with the devotion of the Popish priests, now sent from Rome, from Spain, from Rheims, to counteract the Reformation. His statement, written in 1596, but not published until 1633, that not one in a hundred of the people could do more than say his Paternoster and Avemaria in Latin without knowing what it meant—that the idle, covetous, and vicious clergy neither preached nor administered the Lord's Supper, but baptized in the old Romish form—would be incredible if Baxter had not told us that in England itself, and half a century later, some of the people, in going to bed, would say over

the creed and Lord's Prayer, and some of them the *Avemaria*.

That the true remedy for these evils was not entirely unknown in England, may be seen from a letter of the great Lord Bacon to Secretary Cecil, Queen Elizabeth's prime minister, in 1601, wherein he urges, beside acts of civil reformation, the sending over of good preachers, not scholastic, but vehement and zealous, to be resident in chief towns and supported by the crown; the support and improvement of the college in Dublin; the selection of good bishops; and the circulation of Bibles, catechisms, and other good books in the Irish language. But these and other necessary measures were prevented by the great rebellion, during which the Irish were not even civilized, and by which the attention of the rulers was engrossed, and when, for the first time for four hundred years, the English power was established through the whole island, it was at the very close of Queen Elizabeth's long reign, who died in March, 1603.

Even this brief sketch of the first seventy years of the Reformation in Ireland will suffice to show that it was hindered, partly by the state of the kingdom, partly by the unwise means used to promote it; that the native population was, in fact, uncivilized and under the sway of many petty despots, united only by a common hatred to the Saxon power, and therefore prepossessed against the Reformed doctrine, because introduced from England and by English laws, which suppressed or discountenanced the native aristocracy, thereby transferring its authority and influence to the Romish clergy; that this twofold power of the priesthood was not marked, as in other countries, by a wise

and pious ministry ; that measures of coercion were employed without the necessary adjuncts of instruction and conciliation ; that the only agencies employed were English, to the exclusion of all native converts ; that the Irish tongue was superseded by the English, and in many cases even by the Latin, instead of being used as the chief channel of instruction, as in Wales ; that the whole work, as represented by Archbishop Brown and his associates, was timid, weak, and secular in spirit, aiming only to secure the king's supremacy ; that during the reaction under Mary no defender of the faith appeared in Ireland, no resistance was offered to the revolution, and very few conscientiously refused to conform to the Romish worship ; that no adequate attempt was made to furnish qualified and zealous preachers ; that even the superior places in the hierarchy were partially and unsatisfactorily filled ; while in the south and west the succession was so often interrupted that the very name of Protestant bishops sunk into oblivion ; that the places of the lower clergy who adhered to popery were either badly filled or not at all ; so that a Chancellor of Ireland, writing to an English nobleman in the reign of Edward the Sixth, could say expressly, " Preaching we have none," and, " Hard it is that men should know their duties to God and to the king, when they shall not hear teaching or preaching throughout the year." Nothing but extraordinary zeal, fidelity, and prudence—qualities which the Irish reformers seldom displayed—could have ensured the prompt success of the Reformed faith or prepared the country to derive full benefit from the wiser measures of the following reign,



## CHAPTER I.

1603–1625.

THE accession of James I. was undisputed, both in Britain and Ireland, and attended with advantages never before realized, which he seized with a wisdom seldom seen in his administration. Resolving to lay the foundation of a lasting peace by conciliatory measures, he proclaimed a general pardon to all who had taken part in the rebellion, restored the forfeited estates of those who had not been attainted, placed the natives on a level with the English settlers, confirmed the titles and lands of the Irish nobility, and introduced a regular administration of justice. James was no less anxious to promote the religious than the civil reformation of the country. He was at first considered by the Roman Catholic party as favorable to their cause, which incited them to open acts of violence against the Protestant ministers and their places of worship; but by the prompt action of the Lord Deputy these insurrections were quelled. The priests still continuing to inflame the people against the government, a proclamation was issued commanding them to leave the kingdom or conform to the law.

James would probably have still treated the papists with indulgence but for the Gunpowder Plot, which led to great severity, and as its consequence to a conspiracy of Irish lords, who sought the aid of France and Spain against the English usurpation. The dis-

covery of this plot and another like it caused the flight of the conspirators (Tyrone, Tyrconnell, and O'Dogherty) and the confiscation of their lands, annexing half a million of acres to the crown in Ulster. These lands the king wisely resolved to plant with English and Scottish colonies, with the combined view of rendering the lands more profitable, establishing the peace and prosperity of this part of the kingdom, hitherto the most turbulent, and securing the more general and speedy dissemination of the reformed faith.

The condition of that province was deplorable, a small part only being under cultivation, and the rest a wilderness of bogs and forests; the wretched remnant of its population who had survived the pestilence and famine were abject in the extreme, a large part living in the woods by plunder; with the exception of a few fortified cities, all its towns and villages leveled to the ground. Cultivation was occasionally visible only in some favored spots; its products of grain and cattle, in which alone consisted the wealth of the country, swept away by the wars, and the few proprietors who survived were reduced to such poverty as to be altogether unable to resume the cultivation of the soil.

The moral and religious state of Ulster was scarcely less deplorable. The reformed religion was known only in the large towns. The sees of Derry, Raphoe, and Clogher were still filled by popish bishops, and the Anglican clergy were of doubtful character; so that the very province which was afterward to be the stronghold of the Presbyterian interest in Ireland seemed as yet to be the safest refuge of the papists. A Protestant minister, who afterward became a prelate in Ulster, and who can not be suspected of any incli-



nation to undervalue the character of his brethren, thus describes the condition of affairs: "In many places there is no minister at all; in many places a minister as good as none, even a dumb dog that can not bark, an idol (idle) shepherd who is not apt to teach nor able to confute; in other places, a lewd and scandalous minister, whose not gospel-like behavior is a stumbling-block to them that are without."

Previous attempts at colonization had been made in Down and Antrim, under Queen Elizabeth, by the Earl of Sussex and Sir Thomas Smith. In 1572 a large tract was forfeited to the crown in the county of Down on account of the rebellion of Shane O'Neill, and was granted to Sir Thomas Smith on condition of planting it with English settlers; but this attempt was only partially executed on account of the death of Smith's son, to whom had been intrusted its settlement. The attempt in Antrim met with no better success, for the inhabitants of the neighboring Scottish islands, joining with the Irish, made a formidable opposition to the English settlers. Elizabeth, therefore, to eject these intruders, sent over the Earl of Essex with two thousand men, with orders to "expel the Scots and not hurt the Irish;" but, owing to the lateness of the season and several unexpected difficulties, he returned in disgust to England. The lands, therefore, reverted to their former occupiers; and in 1603 James I. confirmed Sir Randal Macdonnell in the possession of the territory of the Route. All this was before the great Plantation of Ulster, in which the chief agent was Sir Arthur Chichester, on whom the king had conferred a considerable estate in Antrim. By him the lands were carefully surveyed and divided into portions of

one thousand, and fifteen hundred, and two thousand acres, and allotted to three classes, servants of the crown, voluntary emigrants from Britain, and native settlers, on condition of their building houses and walled inclosures within a certain time. The number of colonists under this arrangement was about five hundred, among whom the corporation of London settled nearly the whole county of Coleraine or Derry, for that cause afterward called Londonderry.

The king provided for the church by restoring to the bishoprics their alienated revenues and transferring the tithes from them to the incumbents, by repairing churches and glebes, and endowing free schools in all the principal towns.

In 1610 the lands began to be occupied, the north and east of the province by emigrants from Scotland, the south and west from England, but in friendly coöperation. The cities were again inhabited, the woods cleared, new towns built, and cultivation recommenced, though often interrupted by the natives inhabiting the woods and fastnesses, who often came within the English Pale, *i. e.*, the counties immediately surrounding Dublin. The king preferred Scottish settlers, as being intermediate between English tenderness and Irish roughness, and he hoped that their examples and Protestant professions would tend to their refinement. Among the colonists from England at this period were the families of Clotworthy, Chichester, Ellis, Leslie, Langford and others; from Scotland, those of Balfour, Forbes, Graham, Stewart and Hamilton. The Macdonnells had already come from the Western Islands. The most successful of the Scottish settlers and the most connected with the Presby-

terian interest, were the families of Montgomery and Hamilton, of whose introduction there a strange tale is related, namely, that when one Con O'Neill, the greatest native chief in the County Down, was imprisoned as a rebel at Carrickfergus, his wife crossed the channel into Scotland, and proposed to Hugh Montgomery of Broadstone, that if he would procure her husband's pardon he should have two thirds of the estate, which he secured by offering one third to Hamilton, already mentioned as a fellow of Trinity College, and at this time a favorite and man of influence at James' court. Both he and Montgomery took up their abode in Ulster, and were followed by many Scottish gentlemen and farmers, whose descendants are still found there, such as the Shaws, Calderwoods, Boyds, Keiths, Maxwells, Ropes, Barclays, Moors, and Bayleys.

The other parts of Ulster were not occupied so rapidly as Down and Antrim. In 1618, although eight thousand men of British birth or descent, able to bear arms, were settled in the country, the fourth part of the land was not fully inhabited. This arose in part from the neglect of the original conditions by the settlers. The statement sometimes made that the confiscated lands comprised the whole of Ulster is a gross exaggeration.

The Irish Parliament which met in 1615, on account of the number of Scots who had settled among the Irish in Ulster, found it necessary to repeal the laws forbidding intercourse between the native and the British races. This was an occasion of great rejoicing to both parties. The laws which had made it high treason for the Irish to intermarry with the English, and felony in them to employ the Irish in the fostering of



their children, were repealed, although they had long been obsolete. And the statute of Queen Mary which forbid the Anglo-Irish to introduce the Scotch into the kingdom was also repealed. For although this act had originally reference to those Scottish marauders who formerly infested Ulster, yet for the future peace it was now formally rescinded.

In the same year a convocation of the clergy met in Dublin, the Church being now so firmly established as for the first time to authorize such an assembly. The statutes already in force in the kingdom having only reference to the celebration of public worship which had been made conformable to that of the Church of England, it became necessary formally to declare its faith and to regulate its future government. Accordingly, bishops were consecrated and the sacraments dispensed according to the same ritual, and the ecclesiastical courts were similarly constituted. But the principal act of this convocation was the adoption of a confession of faith. The drawing up of this was intrusted to Dr. James Ussher, Professor of Divinity in Trinity College, and afterward Archbishop of Armagh. This important trust he executed with marked ability and to the satisfaction of the convocation. It was unanimously adopted, transmitted to England and approved by the king in council, and in the same year it was solemnly ratified, in his majesty's name, in Dublin, by the Lord Deputy, and formally published as the accredited standard of the national faith.

These articles were highly Calvinistic as to doctrine and extremely moderate as to government and discipline. This is the more remarkable as low views of the one and high views of the other were at this time

prevalent in England, and being enforced by the authorities, drove many Non-Conformists to Ireland, where they occupied the highest stations, and combined with Ussher's articles to make the Church of Ireland in that day the most moderate and tolerant Episcopal organization known to history.

This Confession includes, in almost the same words, the nine articles of Lambeth, which the English Puritans had in vain requested to be adopted at the Hampton Court Conference in 1604. The morality of the Sabbath is strongly asserted, though a tenet well known to be at variance with the sentiments of the king—the validity of ordination by presbyters is clearly implied—the doctrine of absolution is condemned, and the forgiveness of sins by the clergy taught to be only declaratory—Lent is disclaimed as a religious fast, and the Pope is unhesitatingly pronounced to be Antichrist—all which tenets were then characteristic of the Puritan party in the church, and eagerly defended by them in opposition to the High Church clergy. At the same time no authority is claimed for framing or enforcing ecclesiastical canons or decreeing rites and ceremonies, and no allusion is made to the mode of consecrating the higher orders of the clergy, as if on purpose to avoid maintaining that distinction between bishops and presbyters which was so much opposed by the Non-Conformists. And the Confession is summed up by a decree of the convocation, forbidding the public teaching of any doctrine contrary to the articles now solemnly agreed upon. On this comprehensive foundation the Irish Church was formally settled. This act of the convocation encouraged many pious persons to come over, who relieved the character of the previous



emigration, more especially from England, represented by contemporary writers as exceedingly degraded.

Among these better emigrants were several ministers from England and Scotland, who may be regarded as the founders of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland. The first of these, in point of time, was Edward Brice, for many years minister of Drymen, in Shropshire ; but having steadily opposed the proposition to make Archbishop Spotswood permanent moderator of the Synod of Clydesdale, he was soon obliged to leave his church and country, and settled near his old friend and neighbor, William Edmonstone, in the district of Broadisland, in the county of Antrim. He was admitted by Bishop Echlin, of Down, himself a Scotchman, and afterward raised to the nominal rank of a prebendary, but without relinquishing his prior settlement or his former mode of preaching, which is described by Livingston as dwelling chiefly on "the life of Christ in the heart and the light of his Word and Spirit on the mind."

In the adjoining parish of Carrickfergus was settled for a time a Mr. Hubbard, an Englishman, who had left the Church and became a Non-Conformist minister in Southwark ; but being driven thence, was invited by Sir Arthur Chichester, his fellow-student at Cambridge, to settle at Carrickfergus, where he died after two years residence, and many of his people who had followed him returned to London. Blair describes him as an "able, gracious man."

After Hubbard's death his place was, for a time, supplied by John Glendinning, a native of Scotland, educated at St. Andrews, but had at an early period settled in Ireland as incumbent of Coole (or Carnmoney)

and lecturer in Carrickfergus. The remainder of his history will be given in another place.

At Antrim was another Englishman, John Ridge, ordained by the Bishop of Oxford in 1611, but having no religious freedom for the exercise of his ministry in England, he removed to Ireland, where he was presented to the vicarage of Antrim by Sir Arthur (now Lord) Chichester, and had the reputation of an humble and judicious minister. Livingston says of him : " He used not to have many points in his sermon, but he so enlarged those he had that it was scarcely possible for any hearer to forget his preaching."

Beside these ministers in Antrim, there were others in the County Down no less distinguished. One of these was Robert Cunningham, who had been chaplain to the Earl of Buccleugh's regiment in Holland ; but as soon as it returned to Scotland he removed to Ireland, and was admitted by Bishop Echlin as Curate of Hollywood and Craigavad, with a stipend from Sir James Hamilton, already mentioned, now ennobled by the title of Lord Claneboy. Livingston describes him as eminent for Christ-like meekness, and so universally respected as to be sometimes troubled with that Scripture, " Wo to you when all men speak well of you."

In the neighboring parish of Bangor preached the famous Robert Blair, once a regent or professor at Glasgow, but driven thence by the proceedings of Dr. Cameron, the Episcopal Principal, and presented to Bangor by Lord Claneboy and ordained by the surrounding ministers, Bishop Echlin acting, at his own suggestion, merely as a presbyter. The scruples of these excellent Scottish ministers appear to have ex-

tended only to the rank and number of officiating ministers, and not at all to the re-ordination, which was the main difficulty with John Howe and other English Non-Conformists.

Blair thus narrates the circumstances of his settlement in Bangor :—" When I landed in Ireland, some men parting from their cups and all things smelling of a root called rampions, my prejudice was confirmed against that land. But next day, traveling toward Bangor, I met so unexpectedly with so sweet a peace and so great a joy, as I behoved to look thereon as my welcome thither; and retiring to a private place about a mile above Carrickfergus, I prostrated myself upon the grass to rejoice in the Lord, who proved the same to me in Ireland which he had been in Scotland. Nevertheless, my aversion to a settlement there continued strong, and when my noble patron renewed his invitation and offer, I was very careful to inform him both of what accusations had been laid against me of disaffection to the civil powers, and that I could not submit to the use of the English liturgy nor Episcopal government, to see if either of these would prevail with him to pass from his invitation. But he having been informed by a minister present with my altercations with Dr. Cameron, he said, ' I know all that business; ' and for the other point, he added, that he was confident of procuring a free entry for me, which he quickly effectuated. So all my devices to obstruct a settlement there did evanish and took no effect, the counsel of the Lord standing fast in all generations; yea His wisdom overruled all this, both to procure me a free and safe entry to the holy ministry; and that when, after some years, I met with trials for my non-conformity, neither



patron nor prelate could say that I had broken my condition to them.

“ Having been invited to preach by the patron and by Mr. Gibson, the sick incumbent, I yielded to their invitation and preached there three Sabbath-days. After that, several of the aged and most respectful persons in the congregation came to me, by order of the whole, and informed me that they were edified by the doctrine delivered by me, intreated me not to leave them, and promised, if the patron’s offer of maintenance was not large enough, they would willingly add to the same. This promise I slighted, being too careless of competent and comfortable provision, for I had no thought of any greater family than a boy or two to serve me. But on the former part of that speech, importing the congregation’s call, I laid great weight, and it did contribute more to the removing of my unwillingness to settle there than any thing else. Likewise the dying man (Gibson) did several ways encourage me. He professed great sorrow for his having been a dean. He condemned Episcopacy more strongly than ever I durst do. He charged me in the name of Christ, and as I expected His blessing on my ministry, not to leave that good way wherein I had begun to walk; and then drawing my head toward his bosom with both his arms, he laid his hands on my head and blessed me.”

From the time of Mr. Blair’s re-ordination, which was in July, 1623, he was eminent among the Irish clergy for his imposing presence and his power as a preacher, while in private he was noted as a man of prayer and intimate communion with God.

Shortly after his settlement at Bangor he was the



means of adding to the Irish ministry James Hamilton, the nephew of Lord Claneboy, who had been employed by him as his steward or agent, though a person of fine education. Blair invited him to preach in his uncle's hearing, who was taken by surprise, and complained that he had not disclosed his inclination sooner, but a short time afterward presented him to Ballywalter, where he gained the reputation of a learned and instructive preacher, rather doctrinal than hortatory.

These seven Englishmen and Scotchmen were the pioneers of evangelical religion in the north of Ireland, and began those labors which resulted in a general awakening and conversion and the ultimate foundation of the Presbyterian church in Ulster.

## CHAPTER II.

1625-1634.

THE labors of these men were speedily rewarded by a great revival of religion, which attracted much attention both in Britain and America. This awakening, which extended through the counties Down and Antrim, began under the preaching of Glendinning, who was so little esteemed by his brethren that Blair, though he saw "some sparkles of good inclination" in him, advised him to withdraw from Carrickfergus to some country parish, where inferior gifts would be sufficient. Accordingly he removed to Oldstone, on the Sixmilewater, where he preached the terrors of the law among a very wicked people with such effect that a dozen strong men, known as brawlers and disturbers of the public peace, were carried out of church in one day as if dead, one of whom afterward confessed that he had come there to make mischief, and all (or most) of whom, with others like them, became "mighty Christians," and were "patterns of society," when these facts were recorded by the pen of an eye-witness.\*

The work of grace, from this beginning, spread throughout the valley of the Sixmilewater, and embraced among its subjects some of the most distinguished settlers, such as Sir John Clotworthy of Antrim, with his mother, wife, and son, who was afterward Lord Massareene, a zealous Presbyterian and a noted

\* Andrew Stewart's MS.

member of the Long Parliament, and the lineal progenitor of the present Viscount Massareene and Ferrard in the Irish peerage.

One effect of this awakening was a call for additional religious services beside those of the Sabbath, which was met by the commencement of a stated meeting, on the last Friday of the month, for prayer and conference, at first held in the parish of Oldstone, at the house of Hugh Campbell, a refugee from Ayrshire, whom "God had caught in Ireland and made an exemplary Christian" to the day when Andrew Stewart penned these expressions. As the meetings were attended even by persons from a distance, they were afterward removed to Antrim, as a central point, one mile from Oldstone, under the direction of John Ridge, assisted by Blair, Cunningham and Hamilton. Glendinning, who was not invited to take part in them after their removal from his parish, tried to vie with them by extraordinary feats of prayer and watching, then betrayed his want of judgment by embracing a succession of enthusiastic errors, ending in a visit to the seven churches of Asia, when he disappears from history, leaving his place to be supplied by wiser and more faithful men from Scotland.

The first of this second emigration of Scotch preachers was Josias Welsh, son of the famous John Welsh, minister of Ayr, and by Elizabeth, third daughter of the great Reformer, John Knox. Welsh (the younger) had been educated at Geneva, and was Professor of Humanity at Glasgow until forced, like Blair, to leave it by the innovations of Principal Cameron. Taking up his abode with Mr. Shaw, a gentleman from Ayrshire, now residing on the Sixmilewater, he supplied



the pulpit of Glendinning after his departure, till he was settled at Templepatrick, in the same vicinity, as chaplain to Captain Humphrey Norton, another subject of this great revival, who disinherited his daughter on account of an imprudent marriage and sold his great estate to Captain Henry Upton (son-in-law to Sir Hugh Clotworthy), another zealous Presbyterian, and ancestor of the present Viscount Templetown. Welsh was re-ordained by his own kinsman, Bishop Knox of Raphoe, who, as well as the Reformer, belonged to the Knoxes of Ranfurly in Renfrewshire, now represented by the Knoxes of Dungannon, and since ennobled by the title of Ranfurly in the British peerage. Welsh is described by Blair, who exhorted him to visit Ireland, as having a great measure of his father's spirit, and as eager to "convince the secure and sweetly comfort those that were dejected;" while another eminent contemporary (Livingston) speaks of him as "having many seals to his ministry," and as one "much exercised in his own spirit," so that "much of his preaching was an exercise of conscience."

After him came over Andrew Stewart, in 1627, as minister of Donegore, a parish adjoining Templepatrick and Antrim. He is described by Livingston as "a man very streight in the cause of God," and by Blair as "a learned gentleman, fervent in spirit, and a very successful minister."

The next was George Dunbar, long minister of Ayr, but twice ejected by the High Commission Court for his resistance to King James' measures for the overthrow of Presbytery in Scotland. He was long a prisoner at Blackness, and then banished by the Privy Council; after which he went to Ireland, and was

ultimately settled at Inver or Laine, where he proved a most diligent and useful minister. An interesting anecdote is told of him, to wit, that having witnessed the awakening at Antrim, he was grieving in his own pulpit that none of his people had gotten good from his ministry, when one Robert Brown arose and said before them all that "he had gotten good," and there appeared a blessed change wrought in him and several others, among whom was Andrew Brown, a very wicked deaf-mute. As if to try the truth of these conversions, some were seized in Laine and the adjoining parish of Broadisland, with "violent breathings and convulsions" during public worship, which they regarded as proofs of a spiritual influence, but, being unaccompanied by any sense of sin or desire of a Saviour, were denounced by Brice and Dunbar as a mere delusion and device of the destroyer to disgrace the work.

Next to Dunbar came Henry Colwort (also written Calvert). He was born in England, but was ordained by Bishop Knox of Raphoe, and for a time assisted Brice at Broadisland, but soon afterwards was presented to the parish of Oldstone by Roger Langford, Esq. He is described by Blair as a preacher of "a fervent spirit and a vehement delivery, very diligent withal, and a blessing to that people." By Livingston he is spoken of as one "who pertinently cited much Scripture in his sermons, and frequently urged private fasting and prayer."

The last in this remarkable succession of Scotch ministers, settled over parishes in Ulster, is John Livingston himself, whose words have been so often quoted in relation to the others. He had been assistant min-



ister at Torphichen in Scotland, but was silenced by Archbishop Spotswood in 1627, for opposing his prelati- cal innovations. He continued to preach secretly, however, though excluded by the bishop from a settle- ment, until 1630, when he was invited by Dunbar and Cunningham to Ireland, and presented by Lord Clane- boy to Killinchy. Like several of those already men- tioned, he submitted without scruple to re-ordination at the hands of Bishop Knox, or rather those of Cun- ningham and two or three neighboring ministers, but in the presence of the bishop, who said he thought his old age was prolonged for little other purpose but to do such offices, and that he could not be called "my lord" by such as scrupled it. He even handed Liv- ington the "Book of Ordination" and desired him to mark whatever he objected to; but this was rendered needless by its having been already marked by others. These particulars, recorded by Livingston himself, are interesting as illustrations of what may be regarded as the unique and anomalous condition of the Church of Ireland in the days of Ussher, when avowed and even rigid Presbyterians were admitted or ordained by bishops with a perfect knowledge of their principles and practice, and without requiring any change in either. Livingston stands high among the founders of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland for learning, zeal, success, and suffering, of which some proofs will be adduced below.

Beside these settled pastors, there were two men who may be regarded as evangelists, and who deserve a place in the same catalogue. These were John M'Clelland and John Semple; the first a schoolmaster at Newtonards, who, after trial and examination, was in-



vited by the minister and people of Down to preach for them, and proved himself a zealous, fearless champion of true godliness ; the other a precentor or clerk, who was one day led, by the minister's delay in coming, to expound the psalm in church, and showing a most edifying gift, was licensed by the ministers to preach in private houses, as he did throughout the country, both in dwellings and in barns, with great acceptance and with many conversions as the fruit of his humble but most useful ministry.

Such were the men who kept alive the spirit of true piety in Ulster, Down, and Antrim, while the other clergy of the diocese, about thirty in number, were in many instances non-resident and pluralists, and sometimes careless, if not "lewd and scandalous," the best merely going the formal rounds of their official duty. Of the churches in the same district only fourteen were in good repair, the remainder being either decayed or ruinous. Blair describes his parish at Bangor as six miles in length, with a population of twelve thousand adults, beside many children, whom he taught by preaching twice a week besides the Sabbath, and, when this seemed insufficient, by more private catechising and exhorting, which impaired his health, but only for a time, as he frequently exchanged with "holy Cunningham" at Holywood, and celebrated the Lord's Supper with him four times a year in each congregation. His adherence, upon these occasions, to the old Scotch use of tables, brought him into momentary conflict with his patron, Lord Claneboy, but with no ulterior result except to make their friendship still more intimate.

The same course was adopted by the other Presby-

terian ministers in Ulster, not only with respect to the communion but to other points of discipline and order, not excepting the Kirk-session, composed of elders and deacons, which was kept up at Bangor with great energy and actual effect, until some subjected by its discipline appealed to the bishop, who required all complaints to be made to his "official." A similar experiment was made at Killinchy by Livingston, who even went so far as to require public confession from scandalous offenders at the Saturday sermon before the communion, which was celebrated twice a year.

The support of these ministers was partly derived from the tithes of their respective parishes, and partly from the fixed stipends from the patrons, who in that case took the tithes themselves. The parishioners of Bangor offered to increase the stipend, if not large enough, and Livingston's support at Killinchy came entirely from the people, but amounted only to four pounds per annum.

These ministers were all, in doctrine, strictly Calvinistic, and not, as they have sometimes been misrepresented, hostile to confessions, creeds, and covenants; the Scotchmen having signed the Scotch Confessions and both Englishmen and Scotchmen having heartily assented to the Confession of the Irish Church, which was wholly unobjectionable either to the English Puritans or Scottish Presbyterians. They were naturally bound together in an intimate association, the chief bond of union being the monthly meetings at Antrim, which were largely attended, both by ministers and people, from considerable distances, with an almost insatiable hunger for the word, and which contributed materially to that revival of religion which has been already

mentioned, and which Fleming describes in his "Fulfilling of the Scriptures" as "a bright and hot sun-blink of the gospel."

The opposition to this work proceeded partly from the papists, who were much encouraged by the prospect of a marriage between Charles I. and a Spanish princess, which emboldened two friars from Salamanca to challenge the ministers to a debate, but when their challenge was accepted by Blair and Welsh, they failed to appear at the time and place appointed. Another interruption was produced by Separatists from London, perhaps Baptists, who made no permanent impression; and a third by Freeman, an Armenian Conformist, who attacked the Calvinistic doctrine at one of the monthly meetings at Antrim, but was afterward confuted by Blair in a public disputation, and being deserted by the people he afterward became very dissolute.

But although circumstances rendered these few ministers conspicuous as Calvinists and Presbyterians, most of the northern clergy were at this time Non-Conformists, both in theory and practice, and their names have not been left on record simply because the indifference of the earlier Protestant bishops left them unmolested; while the few of whom we have been speaking came into collision with the later and less tolerant authorities.

To this distinction they were called soon after Livingston arrived by the growing jealousy of Bishop Echlin, their own countryman and once their friend and patron, who had admitted or ordained the earlier emigrants, but refused that office to Welsh, Livingston, and Colwort, who were, therefore, obliged to have recourse to Bishop Knox of Raphoe. Blair describes



the efforts made by Echlin to embarrass and obstruct his ministry as early as the year 1626, but with no effect except that of giving him more influence on the leading men of the country. The immediate occasion of more open opposition was the famous sacramental service at the Kirk of Shotts, in 1630, at which Blair and Livingston, and a sermon by the latter, is supposed to have been instrumental in the conversion of five hundred souls. The Scottish ministers there present were beyond the reach of their prelatical opponents, who therefore took advantage of the anomalous position occupied by Blair and Livingston as beneficed clergymen in the Church of Ireland, and accordingly Bishop Law of Glasgow, and Maxwell of Edinburg, afterwards Bishop of Ross, and one of the chief instruments of Charles in introducing prelacy in Scotland, induced Leslie, Dean of Down, to inform the bishop of the irregularities practiced by his clergy. This was seconded by Lord Chief Baron Bolton, who attended the assizes on the northern circuit, and resulted in a sentence of suspension against Blair and Livingston (September, 1631).

Blair immediately resorted to Archbishop Ussher, with whom he had before been made acquainted by Lord Claneboy and been treated with indulgence even while avowing the same principles, and censuring the archbishop for allowing the liturgy to be used in his own family ! He was no less friendly upon this occasion, writing at once to Echlin "to relax his erroneous censure," which was instantly obeyed, and Blair and Livingston restored. But the accusation was renewed by Maxwell to the king himself, now wholly influenced in church affairs by Laud, who, as Blair says, "did not

only rule but domineer in England." In consequence of this application orders were sent, through the Lords Justices of Ireland, to the bishops of Down and Connor to try and censure these fanatical incumbents. But instead of trying them, he simply required them to conform and subscribe the English formularies, and on their declining so to do, as not required by any law or canon, he deposed them both on the 4th of May, 1632, and the next week passed the same sentence on Dunbar and Welsh, who had been included in the last charge, being specially obnoxious to the prelatists as Scottish Non-Conformists prior to their settlement in Ireland.

Application was again made to Archbishop Ussher, but he said he could not interfere with a direct royal order to the Lords Justices, who in their turn referred the matter to the king. Hereupon Livingston, relying on the friendship of some Scottish nobles and his own previous relation as a tutor to the son of William Alexander, the first Earl of Stirling, and at that time Secretary of State for Scotland, visited that country and procured commendatory letters from the Marchioness of Hamilton and the Earls of Eglinton, Linlithgow, and Wigton. These he forwarded to Blair, who, in the meantime, had got others from his friends in Ireland, and had set out for London, "prayer being made without ceasing of the church unto God for him." When he reached the court at Greenwich, he found that the Earl of Stirling "feared Laud more than God," but through Secretary Cook obtained an audience of the king, and unexpectedly received a favorable answer and an order to Wentworth, the new Deputy, with a clause added by the king's own hand,



“ that if the information made to him proved false, the informer should be punished.” Blair hastened back to Ireland and with his brethren resumed his ministry, which indeed had not been interrupted any further than by preaching in the clerk’s desk instead of the pulpit. Their resumption of the latter was facilitated rather than retarded by the fact that Wentworth had not come to Ireland, and did not come for a year after, during which long interval they still preached and awaited his arrival as the end of the other restrictions under which they labored, and which weighed so heavily on Livingston that he gave up the contest and withdrew to Scotland.

When Wentworth did arrive at last, in January, 1632, Blair went to Dublin and presented the king’s letter, which he slighted, saying that he had the king’s mind in his own breast, and reviled the Church of Scotland, bidding Blair to come to his right wits if he would be regarded. When this, the only answer that could be got from him, was reported to Archbishop Ussher, he shed tears, but could do nothing. So discouraging now were the prospects of the Presbyterians in Ulster, that they seriously thought of emigrating to New England, and John Livingston, accompanied by William Wallace, actually set out on a tour of exploration, but on reaching Plymouth were detained by various untoward circumstances, and returned to Ulster in the month of May, 1634, where they found their brethren resolved to endure some time longer, and await the changes which were looked for, both in Church and State, from Wentworth’s vigorous administration.



## CHAPTER III.

1625-1634.

FROM the accession of Charles I., in 1625, Ireland for some time was at peace, but Romanism, though resisted by the bishops, was indulged by the Lord Lieutenant (Falkland) and encouraged by a bull from Urban VIII. in 1626, exhorting the recusants (or those who refused to take the oath of supremacy and attend Protestant worship) to die rather than conform.

Charles, embarrassed by his wars with Spain and Austria, wished to raise an Irish army, and, as a measure of conciliation, promised to confirm the patents of the Connaught proprietors, which his father had threatened to revoke, with a view to a Western Plantation like that of Ulster. These promises seemed to satisfy the proprietors, but the Romanists, taking advantage of the king's necessities, proposed to raise a sufficient sum to sustain the Irish army on condition that Charles would abolish the penal statutes in force against them. A rumor of this getting abroad, and a fear lest the Romish faith was about to be established, a protest, signed by two archbishops and ten bishops, for a time retarded the project; but the necessities of the king growing more urgent, he finally agreed to grant the "Graces" (as these concessions were called) asked for, in consideration of a subsidy of £120,000, to be paid in three years. These fifty-one Graces, though particularly welcome to the Catholics, conferred important

privileges on all classes and denominations. A few, bearing on the reformation of the Church and the interests of the Scottish colonists in Ulster, may with propriety be noticed.

They forbade pluralities in the case of incompetent ministers, and those upon whom they were conferred were to continue to preach and also to have a sufficient number of well-qualified curates. Those who had large churches with chapels of ease attached, were to supply these chapels with preachers, a sufficient maintenance being provided, and a commission was ordered for the special purpose of preventing "unlawful exactions" by the clergy. The titles of the estates of the Scottish settlers in Ulster were confirmed and made secure upon doubling their rents and paying a fine of thirty pounds for every thousand acres; and a commission was directed to be issued for finally passing the necessary patents, which had been long withheld, and they were to be recognized in Ulster as "free denizens of Ireland."

That these measures might have the sanction of law, the king consented to the calling of a Parliament, and the 3d of November was the day fixed for it to assemble in the city of Dublin. But through the disingenuousness of Charles, a defect was found in the writs, and they were declared invalid. No new writs were issued, nor was any time mentioned when a legal meeting might take place; and so the Graces rested on the king's promise alone, but a promise which he had made in the most public and solemn manner.

Relying upon the king's word, the stipulated payments were duly made; and as the principal part was paid by papists, the laws against them were not en-

forced, notwithstanding a proclamation of Lord Falkland, just at the close of his administration, in 1629, forbidding them to exercise their spiritual functions. The more vigorous measures of the Lords Justices (Loftus and Cock), who were firm and conscientious opponents of the Romanists, were hindered by the king; but a riot in Dublin led, soon after, to the suppression and confiscation of fifteen monasteries and the annexation of a new popish college to the University. St. Patrick's Purgatory, a celebrated station in Lough Derg, was again suppressed (as in 1497), and by an order of the Lords Justices and Privy Council, dated the 13th of September, 1632, the fraternity were dispersed, their cells demolished, and the mysterious cavern in which the purgatorial penances of the pilgrims were performed was exposed to the light of day; and Wentworth, although requested by Queen Henrietta, declined to restore it again.

The time now drew nigh when the last portion of the voluntary subsidy became due. The necessities of the State continued as urgent as ever. None of the stipulated Graces had been as yet conferred. The complaints of the people were becoming louder and more general, and the difficulty, so perplexing to Charles, again occurred, of supplying his wants without either summoning a Parliament or irrevocably granting the promised concessions. To the adoption of either of these alternatives Charles was decidedly averse, and in his difficulty he had recourse to Sir Thomas, now Lord Viscount Wentworth, who had lately become one of the confidential advisers of the crown. He had been appointed Lord Deputy in January, 1632, and although the king was not willing to



spare him from England at present, yet from this time he assumed the management of affairs in Ireland, and the English Council ordered the continued payment of the subsidy until his arrival. But this measure not meeting the approbation of the Lords Justices, and their necessities being urgent, they recurred to their favorite project of collecting the fines from absentees from the established worship. The king and Wentworth refused to accept this alternative, but ordered an additional contribution of £20,000, which the people submitted to in the hope of obtaining the promised Graces when the deputy should arrive, as he did in July, 1633, and succeeded in continuing the voluntary contribution for another year. In a Parliament held July, 1634, he procured an extraordinary grant of £300,000, but still evaded or refused the promised Graces. But in the third session of this Parliament one of the most important of these Graces was passed into a law, namely, that the Scottish settlers should be made free denizens of Ireland. This naturalization law extended to the Scotch who were born before the accession of James. These persons had been previously regarded by the common law as foreigners, and therefore incapable of holding property in Ireland. The preamble of this act contains a memorable testimony from the legislature to the value of the Scottish colonists in promoting the peace and welfare of the kingdom. The king is assured by the Parliament that the grievance about to be removed was "a sad discouragement, and disheartening to many of your said subjects of Scotland, that otherwise would have planted themselves here for the further civilizing, strengthening and securing this your highness' said realm against rebels at home and all foreign invasion."

The attention of Wentworth was not confined to civil affairs. Under the influence of Laud, now elevated to the see of Canterbury, he discouraged the advances of Puritanism, and, with this in view, he patronized the Arminian in opposition to the Calvinistic system, then universally maintained by the Puritans in common with the vast majority of the members of the Established Church. He encouraged the introduction of showy and superstitious rites into divine worship, and every innovation brought the Protestant service nearer to the Romish ritual. The communion-table was converted into an altar, railed in, and placed at the east end of the church, adorned with candlesticks and crucifixes, and made the object of adoration. Pictures, images, and lighted tapers were introduced into the churches. The tutelary protection of saints and angels, and their consequent invocation, were publicly inculcated. The real presence of Christ in the communion, the necessity of auricular confession, and the efficacy of absolution, were openly maintained. While the Sabbath was commanded to be profaned by the republication of the "Book of Sports," exhorting the people to amuse themselves with certain games and recreations on the Lord's day; and holidays and festivals were revered and observed as days of especial sanctity. In a word, there was scarcely an article of the Church of Rome which was not sanctioned, or, as Lord Falkland in one of his speeches in Parliament said, "It seemed their work was to try how much of a papist might be brought in without popery."

To silence the opposition so generally manifested against these innovations, the arm of spiritual power was vigorously exercised. Public lecturers, a class of



preachers elected and supported by the people, and chaplains supported by the rich, were alike prohibited, as not being sufficiently under prelatical control. Afternoon sermons and catechetical exercises were abolished, and the privilege of public preaching was permitted to only a few approved ministers. Every book not in accordance with the prevalent spirit of error and intolerance was suppressed or carefully expurgated, and even those works previously reputed most sound and pious did not escape. The clergy who hesitated to comply with the arbitrary commands of their superiors were summarily suspended or deposed. So violent was the rage for conformity, that even the French and Dutch Protestant churches in London were compelled to adopt the English ritual in preference to that of their respective national churches, which they had used without molestation since the commencement of the Reformation. And lest the formalities or just restraints of law might retard this career of audacious innovation, the High Commission Court furnished a reasonable and appropriate engine by which the designs of the dominant party, though ever so illegal, were carried into immediate execution. The fines imposed on conscientious Non-Conformists by this unconstitutional tribunal were enormous, and the punishments awarded against those who offered the slightest opposition to the tyrannical proceedings of Laud and his faction, were frequently of unparalleled severity. Such was the system introduced and patronized by the Archbishop in England, and which he labored to extend successively to Ireland and Scotland. The chief end, indeed, of the life and exertions of this "Patriarch of the West," as he affected to call himself, was to estab-



lish upon the most intolerant basis a complete uniformity in government and worship over the three kingdoms.

The state of the Irish Church at this time was most deplorable, exhibiting the same indolence, worldliness, and inefficiency as in the early stages of its history. The majority of the prelates sought more their own interests than the promotion of true religion. The cathedrals and churches through their neglect had become dilapidated, and the revenues alienated from their successors and appropriated to the aggrandizement of their own families, and the incomes of the inferior clergy were reduced to the lowest point; "and as scandalous livings naturally made scandalous ministers," the clergy of the Established Church were generally unlearned and ignorant, loose and irregular in their lives and conversations, negligent of their cures, and were careless of observing uniformity and decency in divine worship.

The ecclesiastical courts were oppressive and profligate in their proceedings, bribery and simony were openly practised, the primitive discipline of the Church was entirely suppressed, and all attempts to revive even the little power which the English Church possessed was violently opposed. The consequences of this neglect and mismanagement were too apparent. The reformed faith had indeed been spreading, but this result was rather the effect of colonization than of conversion.

While the reformed faith was thus retarded, the Roman Catholic Church maintained an undisturbed ascendancy over the minds and affections of the people, its worship and ceremonials were openly observed.

The hierarchy, though almost extinct in the sister Kingdom, was complete in all its parts; every see had its prelate, and every parish its priest. Archbishops and bishops exercised almost without control their ecclesiastical jurisdiction and enjoyed ample revenues. Chapels were built, and the churches of non-resident Protestant ministers were occupied by priests speaking the language of the people; and sharing in their perils and discouragements they maintained their influence unimpaired.

In Ulster, the condition of affairs was prosperous. Here the Protestant ministers were zealous and faithful, the people better instructed, religious worship more regularly maintained, and the truth consequently advancing with surer and more rapid steps. This superiority arose from the character of the colonists by whom it was peopled, and the diligence of the pastors who came with them. Their bishops were all doctrinal Puritans, at the head of whom was Ussher, learned, tolerant, and disinterested, the most distinguished ornament of his church and nation, and, as described by Livingston, "a godly man, although a bishop." Downham of Derry, Knox of Raphoe, and Echlin of Down, and Connor, nobly supported Ussher in his work. To these was added in 1629, Bedell, provost of Dublin College, to the joint see of Kilmore and Ardagh: a most upright and amiable man, laborious and strict in his public duties, a faithful and constant preacher, the decided enemy of every ecclesiastical abuse, and the generous patron of every diligent and conscientious minister.

Bedell, on entering upon his diocese, made a statement to Laud in April, 1630, of its deplorable condition.

The Cathedral at Ardagh, one of the most ancient in Ireland, together with the Bishop's house were in ruins; the church at Kilmore in almost as bad a condition; the parish churches unroofed and unrepaired; the people, except about a tenth, who were English planters, were obstinate recusants; the Popish clergy were more numerous than the Protestant, and enjoying full ecclesiastical authority. The Popish primate lived within two miles of his house, and the bishop in another part of his diocese, not far off. There was a parish priest in every parish, and in some two and three; unfrocked friars impoverished the people with their importunate begging. There were but seven or eight Protestant ministers in each of his dioceses, and they not able to instruct the people, being ignorant of their language.

Here was a melancholy picture for such a man, but he commenced vigorously his work of reform as soon as he had entered upon his diocese, by first resigning the see of Ardagh, and then persuading the majority of his clergy to relinquish their pluralities. He reformed the ecclesiastical courts, and, in a synod of his clergy, passed some canons for the regulation of his diocese. He enforced strict residences, and inspected the labors of his ministers. But his crowning work was his efforts in behalf of the native Irish. While Provost of Trinity College, he had established an "Irish Lecture" for preparing young men to preach in Irish among the natives, and when he took possession of his bishopric he entered with ardor upon this work, beginning, although in his sixtieth year, the study of the language, and giving one part of each Sabbath in his Cathedral to preaching in the native tongue. The



New Testament and Book of Common Prayer, had already been translated into their vernacular, but he added to them a catechetical summary of Christian doctrine, with forms of prayer and scriptural extracts, printed in English and Irish, which he scattered through his diocese. Through his influence, schools were established in every parish, and he resolved to procure the translation of the whole Bible into Irish, and to publish it at his own expense. He has been well styled, "the Tyndal of Ireland."

Bedell was too much of a Puritan in spirit to be popular with the churchmen around him. He disliked the use of his Episcopal vestments, and was opposed to instrumental music in christian worship. He preached twice every Sabbath, and catechised in the afternoon. He read the Psalms in divine service, like other portions of the word of God, without responses; and though punctual in his use of the Prayer-book in the church, he never used it in domestic worship. Like Ussher he maintained the identity of bishop and presbyter, and ordained no individual to the ministry without the consent of his clergy, and he deemed it irregular to exercise his episcopal function beyond his own diocese.

The vigor with which Bedell carried on his work of reformation created many enemies. His chancellor sued him for sitting in the courts held in his own name and enforcing the ancient discipline of the church, and even the affections of Ussher were for a time alienated, who, as Burnet alleges, "had too gentle a soul to manage that rough work of reforming abuses, and therefore he left things as he found them;" and soon after he apprized Bedell that "the tide went so high

against him in regard to pluralities and non-residence, that he could assist him no more." To this disheartening intimation the latter nobly replied "that he was resolved, by the help of God, to try if he could stand by himself;" but this he found to be impossible, being thwarted by the civil authorities and his spiritual superiors. The clergyman whom he engaged to translate the Bible into Irish was deposed and thrown into prison, and thus this important work was suspended and not resumed for fifty years.

This was the condition of the Church of Ireland when Laud turned his attention to that kingdom. Finding the cathedrals and churches in ruins, the clergy poor, ignorant, and little respected, with no regard for their superiors; and even where there were some more learned than the others, he was mortified to find them Calvinistic in doctrine and Puritanical in principle. He therefore resolved to remodel the Church. His first arbitrary step was in reference to Downham's "Treatise on the Covenant of Grace," which had been written against the Arminians in 1631. Not content with suppressing this work in England, he wrote to Ussher, ordering him to call in the copies which had been circulated in Ireland, and in future to allow nothing to be published which came in conflict with the Arminian view. Ussher obeyed the command, and replied in a servile letter, derogatory to his character for candor and integrity.

The designs of Laud were now effectually carried out by Wentworth, whom he had induced Charles to appoint as Deputy. Wentworth entered upon his work with great zeal, rebuilding and repairing the places of worship, restoring the temporalities, inducing



the nobility to resign their impropriations, and by an act of Parliament enriching the clergy. In order to counteract the influence of the Calvinistic and Puritanical clergy, he brought out with him, as his private chaplain, John Bramhall, a learned man, but of the same temper as Laud, whom Cromwell afterward styled "the Canterbury of Ireland." This man proved an efficient helper in carrying out the views of his patron. In his report to Laud he gives a very melancholy picture of the state of the Irish Church. In Dublin he found one church turned into a stable for the use of the Lord Deputy; a second, a nobleman's dwelling-house; the choir of a third a tennis-court, with the vicar acting as keeper. In Christ Church, the principal church in Ireland, the vaults were used as tippling rooms for beer, wine, and tobacco. He reports the inferior clergy below contempt; pluralities, compositions, and non-residences innumerable, so that one bishop held twenty-three benefices with cure, and seldom any suitor petitioned for less than three vicarages at a time.

The zeal of Bramhall did not remain long unrewarded, for in 1634 he was made Bishop of Derry in place of Downham, as in the previous year John Leslie (Bishop of Orkney) had received the see of Raphoe, made vacant by the death of Knox. All the appointments henceforth were men of Arminian and intolerant principles.

The University at Dublin was now remodeled. Hitherto the provosts had been decided Puritans, the last of whom was Dr. Robert Ussher, a relative of the archbishop. A change, therefore, became necessary as a part of Wentworth's plan of reformation, and Ussher was appointed Archdeacon of Meath and soon



afterward Bishop of Kildare, and Chappell, Dean of Cashel (quandom tutor of Milton at Cambridge), a violent Arminian, was appointed in his place, but it soon became necessary to remove him on account of his urging conformity with so much intolerance. Laud, soon after appointed Chancellor, finding the statutes of the college too favorable to religious liberty, revised and altered them, which were soon after confirmed by royal authority.

But the great object of anxiety, the assimilation of the churches of England and Ireland, yet remained to be accomplished, and in order to this, the Calvinistic confession compiled by Ussher must be abolished. Wentworth undertook this delicate task, by first consulting Ussher and stating to him that the Irish articles should not be disturbed in the convocation, which was ordered, but for the sake of union the thirty-nine articles of the Church of England should be received and recognized. To this plan Ussher made no objection, but afterwards, without his assent, Bramhall maintained that the intended procedure abrogated the Irish articles and established the English in their forced interpretation of Armenianism as the sole standard of the Church's faith.

The convocation of clergy met in November 1634, at the same time with the second session of the Parliament, and to the surprise of Wentworth, who had not been watching the proceedings, through a committee introduced into a canon a recognition of the Irish articles and enjoined them to be restored under pain of excommunication.

This being in direct opposition to Wentworth's favorite plan, he in the most violent and insulting manner

reversed their deliberations, and in a letter to Laud exulted over his victory, charging them with Brownism. The canon which Ussher prepared as a compromise was put aside, and a substitute of Wentworth's passed, being supported by Bramhall and Leslie, there being but one dissenting voice, perhaps Hamilton, minister of Ballywalter, who was a member of this convocation. Thus was the constitution of the Irish Episcopal Church, as it now stands in doctrine and in discipline finally settled. The thirty-nine articles represented the doctrine, and the discipline was regulated by a body of canons, one hundred in number. They were to be subscribed by all and read publicly in the churches once a year. It was desired by Bramhall that the whole body of canons made in 1603 might be adopted, but Ussher being afraid to bow at the name of Jesus, and opposed to certain other rites, the canons requiring them were not included. These canons were published in Dublin in 1635, producing a panic, and a fear lest the town should rise, plainly evincing the prevalence of non-conformity in the metropolis. In this convocation Bedell brought forward his plan for instructing the Irish in their own tongue, which was advocated by Ussher and others, but was opposed by Bramhall, who was averse to the education of the people. Bedell so far succeeded that it was provided in the ninety-fourth canon that 'where most of the people are Irish, the churchwarden shall provide a Bible and two common Prayer books in the Irish tongue; and where the minister is an Englishman, such a clerk may be chosen as shall be able to read the service in Irish.'

Wentworth had now uncontrolled sway both in church and state; in a letter to the King, already

alluded to, he used this remarkable expression: "So! as now I can say, the King is as absolute here as any prince in the whole world can be, and may be still, if it be not spoiled on that side." Happily for the cause of liberty the despotic system was spoiled in England, Wentworth, Laud and Charles being ignominiously beheaded. The High Commission Court which Wentworth had erected in Dublin, brought the freedom and property of every individual under its control. It was erected for the purpose of maintaining the clergy, promoting conformity, and to raise, perhaps, a good revenue to the crown. To all these purposes it was in due time applied, and the Presbyterians of Ulster soon felt the weight of its formidable power.



## CHAPTER IV.

1634-1638.

THE interview which Blair had with Wentworth in Dublin, as already noticed, indicated too plainly the course which he intended to pursue toward the Presbyterians of Ulster. Instead of acting on the suggestion in the king's letter, he reproached the four ministers, unjustly suspended by Echlin, for their non-conformity, reviled the Church of Scotland from which they sprung, and refused them a fair trial.

Although repulsed, they still hoped that the government would become more tolerant and their suspended brethren restored. In this they were disappointed, but several circumstances in the meantime led to a temporary relaxation of their sentence. Wentworth, by pressing the fulfillment of the covenants of the plantation under which the northern colonists held their lands, putting them to great expense and threatening the forfeiture of their estates, raised quite a ferment in Ulster among the landed proprietors, and to remove this irritation and for fear that some of the discontented nobles might cause trouble in the Parliament about to meet, on the suggestion of Lord Castlestewart, a zealous patron of the northern Presbyterians, he consented to restore the ministers for a limited period, and wrote a letter in May, 1634, to Bishop Echlin, commanding him to withdraw the sentence of suspension for six months, which was promptly obeyed, and Blair, Liv-

ingston, Dunbar and Welsh were restored to the exercise of their ministry. This was unexpected news to these brethren, and in a letter Blair describes his feelings as those of astonishment, admiration, and thanksgiving, and in his first lecture at Bangor he preached from Isa. xxxviii. 15, "What shall I say? He hath both spoken unto me, and Himself hath done it," when the people were melted down into tears of joy—and at their monthly meeting "the joy of the people can hardly be expressed. The liberty prolonged to us was, through God's blessing, well improved by all, and the people made more progress in the way of God than ever before."

This general satisfaction was clouded by the death of Mr. Welsh of Templepatrick, who expired about a month after his restoration, upon the 23d of June, 1634, occasioned by a cold, resulting in consumption, contracted while preaching in an exposed place. He was attended upon his death-bed by Livingston and Blair. Livingston writes, "He had many gracious and edifying discourses, as also some wrestlings." And Mr. Blair said to the company of Christians gathered around his bed, "See how Satan knibbles at his heel when he is going over the threshold of heaven." He left one son, John Welsh, who rose to eminence in the Scottish Church as minister of Irongray, and after the Restoration nobly suffered persecution for the truth's sake.

The death of Welsh was soon followed by that of Stewart of Donegore. Standing by the grave of Welsh, he said, "Who knows who will be next?" And no one answering, he said, "I know," and turning away went to his church in Donegore, where, bolting him-

self in, he remained two hours, and then going to his house he fell asleep upon his bed, from which he never arose again in health, but was buried a month from that day.

Flemming, in his "Fulfilling of the Scriptures," has preserved an account of the last hours of this holy man which is worthy a notice in this history. On the return of his wife from Welsh's funeral, she inquired what he had been doing, to whom he said, "I have been taking my leave of the church of Donegore, and I was there taking timber and stones to witness that in my short time I had labored to be faithful, and that, according to my light, I have revealed the whole counsel of God to the people." After a fortnight's lying, Mr. Ridge came to visit him and said, "I hope, sir, you do not rue that you have been faithful." He answered, "I rue nothing but that I was too long in beginning, (meaning that he had resisted for several years a pressing call to the ministry), and I will tell you a strange thing which hath helped me to be faithful these last seven years; there hath not one day passed me without thoughts of death and renewed submission to it; yea this made me neglect my body, which should have served the Lord, as if it had been the mire in the street, which now troubleth me."

The night he died, several Christian friends being with him, he was for a long time silent, which ended in heavy groanings. At last one desired to know what troubled him. At first he refused to tell, but being urged, he said, "I shall tell you; my hair stands to behold what I see coming on these lands. The bloody wars of Germany shall never be balanced with the wars of these three kingdoms. The dead bodies of



many thousands who this day despise the glorious gospel shall lie upon the earth as dung unburied." And in this prophetic strain he continued for some time. He was buried beside his church in Donegore, where an humble tombstone marks his grave. For two centuries the descendants of this faithful man have been among the most eminent ministers of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland. These godly men were hardly in their graves when Wentworth, at the instigation of Bramhall, wrote a letter to Bishop Echlin, notwithstanding the entreaties of Lord Castlestewart to extend their license for six months, urging him to renew his suspension of Blair and Dunbar. Accordingly they were cited before the bishop for the third time and formally deposed. On this occasion a remarkable conference took place between Blair and Echlin, a minute of which has been preserved, which strikingly illustrates the dastardly spirit of the persecutor and the unshrinking honesty and intrepidity of the Confessor.

On the 17th of July following this memorable conference Echlin died in distress of mind. Blair relates that shortly before he died, when the physician, Dr. Maxwell, came to see him and inquired what ailed him, he was long silent, and then with great difficulty uttered these words. "It is my conscience, man," to which the doctor replied, "I have no cure for that." This report was made by the doctor to Lord Viscount of Airds, whose wife was the Lady Jane Alexander, daughter of the first Earl of Sterling. Echlin was succeeded by Henry Leslie, dean of Down, a man of some erudition, but a violent and bigoted Episcopalian. He was consecrated in Dublin on the 4th of October 1635, and immediately commenced his work

of persecution. The first person on whom he exercised his newly acquired power was Livingston, who, for some reason now unknown, had not been included in the sentence of deposition. He was deposed by Leslie and excommunicated by Melvin, the minister of Downpatrick, in the month of November.

Blair and Livingston continued to preach in private houses during the winter, but finding no relaxation in the severity of the prelatical party, the Presbyterians of Ulster renewed the plan of emigrating to New England, and with this object in view they commenced building a ship called the Eaglewing, of one hundred and fifty tons burden, at Groomsport, on Belfast Lough, intending to embark in the spring of the following year, but on account of the preparation necessary for such a voyage their departure was retarded until late in the season. In the meantime the severity of Bishop Leslie caused the number of emigrants to increase; at his visitation at Lisburn in July, according to the command of the convocation, he called upon his clergy to subscribe to the canons. Five of the ministers refused, viz: Brice of Broadisland, Ridge of Antrim, Cunningham of Holywood, Colvert of Oldstone, and Hamilton of Ballywalter. The Bishop, not wishing to lose these faithful men, held a private conference with them, hoping to induce them to conform to the canon<sup>s</sup>, but failing in this, at the suggestion of Bishop Bramhall, he summoned his clergy to meet at Belfast on the 10th of August, and opened the visitation by preaching from the ominous text—"But if he neglect to hear the church, let him be unto thee as an heathen man and a publican." Matt. xviii. 17. In this discourse he maintained that by "the church"

is not meant the multitude of believers, nor the Jewish court of elders, nor the civil magistrate, nor the Pope, nor a general council, but the prelates ; he showed that the church had power to keep and declare the sacred oracles, to ordain ministers, to decide controversies, to enact ceremonies, and to censure offenders, and it is difficult to believe that it is not a Jesuit Romanist pleading for the authority of the Papal church. He uses the following language, referring to the Non-Conforming minister : “ He that will take upon him the office of a minister, not being called by the church, (meaning of course the prelates,) is an intruder and a thief that cometh not in by the doore but climbeth up another way,—what will you say to some Dominees heere amongst you, who, having no ordination to our calling, have taken upon them to preach—and preach I know not what, even the foolish vision of their owne heart. As they runne when none hath sent them, and runne very swiftly, because, like Ahimaaz, they runne by the way of the plaine, so like Ahimaaz, when they are come, they have no tydings to tell but doleful news. They think by their puff of preaching to blowe down the goodly orders of our church, as the walls of Jericho were beaten downe with sheepe’s hornes. Good God ! is not this the sinne of Uzziah, who intruded himselfe into the office of the priesthood ? And was there ever the like heard amongst Christians, except the Anabaptists, whom some amongst you have matcht in all manner of disordered confusion.”

The Presbyterians had objected to the ceremony of kneeling at the Lord’s Supper as a relic of popery, and in this sermon the Bishop at great length attempts to prove that Christ did not sit at the communion, and



that if he did, the disciples were not bound to adopt that posture. The Presbyterians, on the contrary, maintained the Scriptural obligation of using a "table-gesture" in the observance of the ordinance. The Bishop answers that if they adopted the gesture they must, to be consistent, adopt other peculiarities of a common meal ; asks them why they do not receive the sacrament in their dining-rooms instead of the church—why they do not salute one another—why they do not use dishes, napkins, knives and forks as well as stools—why they do not eat a full meal, drink more than once, and pledge one another—why they do not converse together and keep on their hats as at other feasts (which the Independent ministers about ten years afterward did insist upon). He complains, also, of the female influence in the church, and declares, "Surely as the Lord taxeth the angel of the church of Thyatira for suffering the woman Jezabel to teach and deceive God's servants, so may he reprove the governors of our church for suffering this feminine heresie so long, they of that sexe being the greatest zealots and chiefe abettors of the sect, by whom many simple people are deceived and led from the wholesome pastures of the Church to wander in the precipices of schisme."

Leslie having concluded his discourse, the five Non-Conforming ministers were called forward ; and the Bishop, complaining that he had been misrepresented in a former private conference with them, proposed to debate the matter publicly on the next day, which was at once accepted, and Hamilton was appointed to conduct it in their name. It was accordingly begun before a large assembly of nobility and gentry and

clergy of the diocese. It was conducted in the form of syllogistic reasoning, in which Hamilton displayed great readiness and acuteness, and the bishop more moderation than could have been expected from his sermon ; but, as it too often happens in public debates, the controversy merged into the discussion of some of the less important points of difference. The discussion was interrupted by Bramhall on account of the liberty allowed the minister; and Leslie adjourned it until the next day ; but at the suggestion of the Bishop of Derry it was not resumed, but at the time appointed, the brethren refusing to subscribe to the canons, received their sentence of deposition.

These severe proceedings hastened the intended voyage to New England, and in the midst of their preparations Brice of Broadisland, one of the deposed ministers, departed this life. The number proposing to sail was one hundred and forty, including Blair, Livingston, Hamilton, John M'Clelland (afterward minister in Scotland), John Stuart, Captain Andrew Agnew, Charles Campbell, John Sumervil, Hugh Brown and Andrew Brown, the deaf-mute already mentioned. They had many hindrances, but on the 9th of September, 1636, they sailed from Loch-Fergus, but were detained by contrary winds in Loch-Ryan, in Scotland, where they grounded the ship for the purpose of discovering a leak, but were soon at sea again, and had a fair wind until reaching about half way between Ireland and Newfoundland, when, meeting with a severe storm from the north-west, they were on the point of foundering, and the ship being so much injured as to make it perilous to proceed, after prayer and much anxious consultation they determined to return, and

reached Loch-Fergus on the 3d of November. Mr. Livingston, from whom this account of the voyage is derived, in concluding says, "During all this time, amidst such fears and dangers, the most part of the passengers were very cheerful and confident; yea, some in prayer had expressed such hopes, that rather than the Lord would suffer such a company in such sort to perish, if the ship should break he would put wings to our shoulders and carry us safe ashore. I never in my days found the days so short as all that time, although I slept some nights not above two hours and some none at all; but stood most part in the gallery astern the great cabin, where Mr. Blair and I and our families lay. For in the morning, by the time that every one had been some while alone, and then at prayer in their several societies, and then at public prayer in the ship, it was time to go to dinner; and after that we would visit our friends in the gunner-room, or those between the decks, or any that were sick, and then public prayer would come, and after that supper and family exercises. Mr. Blair was much of the time sickly, and lay in time of storm. I was sometimes sick, and then my brother, Mr. M'Clelland, only performed duty in the ship. Several of those between the decks, being throng, were sickly. An aged person and one child died and were buried in the sea. One woman, the wife of Michael Colvert of Kilinchy parish, brought forth a child in the ship. I baptized him on Sabbath following, and called him *Seaborn*."

After their return, Mr. Livingston went to his mother's house, and Mr. Blair to the "Stone" (or Strone or Strand) in Belfast. They appear to have



spent that winter in preaching in private houses, but receiving notice in the spring of a complaint entered against them in Dublin, they escaped to Scotland.

The western parts of Scotland became at this period an asylum for oppressed people of Ulster, notwithstanding the attempts of the Scottish Bishops to prevent the emigration. They were harbored principally in the shires of Ayr and Wigton, and they were especially befriended by one Fergus M'Cabbin of the district of Carrick in Ayrshire. He had inherited a large estate from his father, which he freely expended in entertaining the Irish refugees, insomuch that his friends feared that he would impoverish himself, but to his dying day he declared that he grew richer as his charities increased. The celebrated David Dickson, minister at Irvine, afterwards a distinguished ornament and pillar of the Church of Scotland, was also conspicuous for his attentions to the exiled brethren. Blair, Livingston, Cunningham and Ridge, were liberally entertained by him and his people for some time; and though at no little hazard to himself, he occasionally permitted them to preach.

Cunningham and Ridge died here in the midst of their troubles and privations. Livingston, in giving an account of Mr. Cunningham's death, narrates many of his dying expressions: he said, "I see Christ standing over Death's head and saying, Deal warily with my servant, loose now this pin, then that pin, for this tabernacle must be set up again." A little before his death, his wife sitting by his bed with his hand in hers, he in prayer commended the church, the work of God in Ireland, the parish of Holywood, his suffering mother, and his children to God, and then said,

“O Lord, I recommend unto thee this gentlewoman who is no more my wife,” and then gently loosing his hand from hers, put her aside, and soon after slept in the Lord.

Wentworth having obtained from Parliament the unconditional supplies he demanded, and from the court the extraordinary powers necessary, in the most arbitrary manner confiscated the entire province of Connaught, although the proprietors held under patents from the crown, and had long enjoyed undisturbed their possessions. The county of Galway alone opposed his designs by the refusal of the jury to find for the crown as in other places; but they paid dearly for their independence, each juror being fined the exorbitant sum of four thousand pounds, and imprisoned until paid. The entire county was declared forfeited to the crown, and the proprietors were only allowed to re-purchase at higher rents, and with heavy fines imposed. The titles in Ulster were in like manner subject to a close examination, and in case of the least default in the conditions upon which they were held, the owners were compelled to renew their patents. The corporation of the city of London in particular suffered under this iniquitous system. An action against them had been for some time pending in the Star Chamber Court in England for the non-fulfillment of conditions under which they held the county of Londonderry, and the cities of Derry and Coleraine. This suit was now urged on more vigorously by Wentworth: and in the year 1637 they were sentenced to pay to the crown the exorbitant fine of seventy thousand pounds, their patent was revoked, their lands were seized in the name of the

King, and Bishop Bramhall was appointed receiver-general of all their Irish revenues.

Not only were the rights of property thus violated, but the personal liberty of the highest subjects were invaded when opposing the views of Wentworth. Such was the case with Sir Piers Crosby, a privy counsellor, Loftus the Lord Chancellor, and Lord Mountnorris the vice-treasurer. The latter nobleman, a man of unblemished character, was summarily deprived of his commission in the army by a court-martial, of which Wentworth was president, for indiscreet and ambiguous words used in private, supposed to convey an imputation injurious to the character of the Deputy.

The same arbitrary measures were carried into the commercial regulations of the kingdom. He established monopolies, laid heavy duties upon the importation of merchandise, prohibited the exportation of valuables, and crushed the woollen manufactures. But on the other hand it should be placed to his credit, that he introduced the linen manufactures, and expended much of his private property in its advancement:—he repressed the depredation of pirates; he placed the collection of the revenues under efficient and salutary control, and brought the army into an organized and disciplined condition, so that while on the one hand his administration was oppressive in the extreme, on the other it was productive of wealth and tranquility to the kingdom.

But the attention of Wentworth was now drawn to important events in Scotland. Charles, soon after his coronation, incited and directed by Laud, attempted to impose the English Liturgy and a new book of canons



upon the Scottish Church. This work was committed to four of the younger prelates, who were directed by Charles to prepare drafts of the intended publications, and transmit them to Laud for correction. Under his auspices they were successively printed; and with his own hand he introduced those deviations from the English standards, which proved so peculiarly oppressive to the Scottish nation, and betrayed too palpable a desire to revive some of the most offensive rites of Popery. On the 23d of May, 1635, the book of canons was ratified by the King in council, and imposed on the nation by virtue of the royal supremacy alone.

The enactments contained in these canons aroused the indignation of the people: the royal supremacy was made absolute and unlimited; no assembly of the clergy could be summoned but by the king; private meetings for expounding the Scriptures were forbidden; every ecclesiastical person dying without issue was directed to "leave his effects, or a great part of them" to the church; communicants were compelled to take the Lord's Supper kneeling, and the remaining portion of the elements was to be consumed in the church; ordination was conferred only at four particular seasons of the year, as though it was a sacrament, and the practice of private confession and absolution encouraged; an unqualified sanction was given to the service-book, although it was not published until a year later; all were to be excommunicated who affirmed that the Book of Common Prayer contained any thing repugnant to Scripture, or that was corrupt, superstitious or unlawful in the service and worship of God; no presbyter was to pray in public but according to the prescribed form; and no person could be

admitted to holy orders, or perform any ecclesiastical function without first subscribing these canons. Thus were the Scottish clergy, by a most absurd and unprecedented tyranny, compelled to declare their unconditional approbation of an unpublished liturgy, which they had no opportunity of reading.

In the following year, when the long-expected liturgy appeared, it was found to be a transcript of the English service-book, with some important alterations, to wit; it contained a benediction or thanksgiving for departed saints, of whom a large number connected with Scotland was added to the popish saints of the English calendar; alterations and transpositions were introduced into the communion-service countenancing the real presence of Christ; the officiating priest was to stand with his back to the congregation with his arms extended, as if elevating the host; the sign of the cross was used in baptism, and the water in the font was changed and consecrated twice a month; lessons from the Apocrypha were appointed to be read, and the various gestures of bowing, standing, sitting, and kneeling in their appointed places were indispensable to the canonical celebration of divine worship. It is no wonder, therefore, that all ranks united in opposing it; and when, in the month of July, 1637, it was for the first time used in Edinburgh, a tumult arose in the church, the service was violently interrupted, and the officiating priests were with difficulty preserved from the fury of the incensed multitude. It was in this memorable riot that Janet Geddes is said to have thrown her stool at the head of the dean, exclaiming, "Villain! dost thou say mass at my lug?" Bramhall, in a letter to Archbishop Spotswood, writes, "I

humbly thank your grace for your high favor, the Book of Common Prayer. Glad I was to see it, and more glad to see it such as it is, to be envied in some things perhaps, if one owned." This letter is dated on the 13th of August, and it is singular that Bramhall, at Derry, had not then heard of the riot at Edinburgh, which occurred on the 23d of July, three weeks before he wrote, so slow was the transmission of intelligence in those days.

The ministers and people, supported by most of the Scottish nobility, feeling the necessity of a closer union in order to defend themselves against the innovations of Charles, assembled, through their deputies, at Edinburgh, on the 1st day of March, 1638, and solemnly renewed their National Covenant, it being the third time since the Reformation. This is not to be confounded with the solemn league and covenant which was adopted five years later. In the course of two months it was signed by all ranks throughout the kingdom.

These vigorous and well-concerted measures were followed by a General Assembly of the Church, which Charles, for the purpose of conciliating those whom he could not coerce, permitted to meet at Glasgow, in the month of November. It was attended by one hundred and forty ministers and nearly one hundred elders, as commissioners from the fifty-three Presbyteries of which the Scottish Church was composed. The Marquis of Hamilton was the royal commissioner and the celebrated Alexander Henderson, then minister at Leuchars, in Fifeshire, was unanimously elected moderator. Notwithstanding the attempt of the commissioner to dissolve the Assembly and the protest of the bishops,



the members were firm in their purpose. They sat for thirty days, during which they held twenty-six sessions. They abolished prelacy, deposed the bishops, condemned the liturgy and book of canons, and repealed all the obnoxious regulations imposed upon the Church since the commencement of the century. They reëstablished the Presbyterian judicatories, and enacted many laws tending to the purity, piety, and independence of the Church.

The Scottish nation received these proceedings of the Assembly with enthusiastic delight; but Charles made a direct appeal to arms in order to support his insulted authority. He repaired to York, and with a force of horse and foot advanced to the borders. The Scots were not slow to perceive and oppose the hostile designs of the king. They seized the principal fortresses of the kingdom, and marshalling a large army under General Leslie, an experienced soldier, they proceeded to the South to resist what now had become the aggression of a foreign power.

## CHAPTER V.

1638-1639.

WENTWORTH watched with anxiety the movement in Scotland, fearing that the National Covenant would be introduced among the disaffected Scots of Ulster. His fears were well grounded, for a large number of the tenantry who held under the London patent had been greatly embarrassed by his actions in regard to that corporation, and this disaffection was increased by the attempts of the northern prelates to force them into conformity. Their favorite ministers had been compelled to fly to Scotland, which was not the end of the persecution, for a commission was given to the Bishop of Down and Connor authorizing him to imprison all Non-Conformists in his diocese. Under the execution of this commission many were committed to prison or forced to go into exile. The intercourse and sympathy with Scotland was kept up by traders and landed proprietors going to and fro, but especially by the ejected ministers now settled there. These faithful men, whom they continued to regard with the deepest veneration, were settled in charges in their native country shortly after their flight from Ireland. Early in 1638 Mr. Blair was chosen colleague to Mr. William Annan at Ayr, and from thence he removed to St. Andrews. Livingston was ten years at Stranraer, and then at Ancrum, in Teviotdale. Hamilton was settled at Dumfries, whence he was removed to Edinburgh. Dunbar was

at Calder, in Lothian, till 1646, and Colvert at Paisley. M'Clelland, who had been admitted to the ministry in Ireland, was ordained in Kirkcudbright. Semple became minister of Carsphairn in Galloway. Two other banished ministers, whose charges in Ireland can not now be ascertained, were also admitted to parishes in Scotland at this time. These were Samuel Row, ordained as colleague to Henry Macgill at Dunfermline, and Robert Hamilton, who was settled at Ballantrae, in Ayrshire. These nine ministers took an active part in the National Covenant and Second Reformation.

They had scarcely been elected to their charges when the bishops, in a complaint to the king, represented their settlement as a grievous and flagrant contempt of ecclesiastical authority. Lord Traquair, in a letter to the Marquis of Hamilton, speaks of the pulpits as occupied at this time by "foolish Irish preachers." Blair, Livingston, M'Clelland, and Hamilton sat in the famous Assembly of 1638, and took a prominent part in its proceedings, notwithstanding the protest of the bishops, which Blair answered in a "brave extempore harangue," seconded by David Dickson, then settled at Irvine, which entirely satisfied the Assembly that the censures inflicted upon them were most unjust.

So easy was the intercourse between Ulster and the west of Scotland, and so great was the veneration in which these ministers were held, that many of their former hearers removed to Scotland that they might enjoy their ministry, while great numbers usually went over from Ireland at the stated celebration of the communion. At one time five hundred persons, principally from Down, visited Stranraer to receive that ordinance at the hands of Livingston. And at another time he



baptized twenty-eight children at one service, brought over for that purpose. In this manner a powerful influence was still exerted by these godly men upon their Scottish brethren in Ulster.

Many also signed the National Covenant while visiting their native country, so that Laud, in a letter to Wentworth dated July, 1638, writes: "The Scottish business is extream ill indeed, and what will become of it God knows, but certainly no good, and his Majesty hath been notoriously betrayed by some of them. There is a speech here that they have sent to know the number of Scotchmen in Ulster, and that privately there hath been a list taken of such as are able to bear arms, and that they are found to be above forty thousand in Ulster only. This is a very private report, and perhaps false, but in such a time as this I could not think it fit to conceal it from your lordship, coming very casually to my ears." Wentworth was confident, however, that his little army of two thousand foot and six hundred horse, though raised for the settlement of Connaught and Munster, would, if stationed on the coast of Ulster, cut off the communication, and send the Earl of Rothes back "with his coat well dusted."

In the meantime Wentworth directed the Bishops to persevere in enforcing conformity, to preach against the Covenant and the rebellion of the Scots, and to keep a strict watch over all who might be suspected of maintaining any intercourse with the Covenanters. He also obstructed the settlement of Scotch incumbents by the patrons. One or two cases will show the vigilance exercised. A Scotchman named Galbraith, was presented by a nobleman to the living of Taugh-

boyne, in Donegal, near Derry, and was also appointed archdeacon of Raphoe. But Laud, suspecting him of being a Covenanter, directed Wentworth to make a strict investigation, who writes back that Dr. Bruce, the predecessor of Galbraith, had sent him "certain knowledge that Galbraith had signed and sworn the Covenant, so we are like to have a brave archdeacon of him; nevertheless, if himself may be trusted, all will be well, no doubt, or else there is more ingenuity to confess truth in this gentleman than I ever yet observed in Puritan." After further correspondence, Laud, acting entirely on the reports which reached him, writes to Wentworth: "Galbraith, that would have your great benefice, is a Covenanter; there is certain news of it brought now to the King, and thereupon his majesty hath commanded me to signify unto you that you shall not give him the benefice. I hear further that this Galbraith hasted out of Scotland for killing a man there; but I am not so certain of this as I am that he is a Covenanter, that is, upon the matter, that he is a traytor." Thus was this man who was a royalist, according to strong testimony, consigned to ruin on a bare supposition, supported by interested calumny.

Another victim of this persecution was a minister in the diocese of Raphoe, named Pont. He had declined the use of the ceremonies of the church and had in his sermons condemned the unscriptural jurisdiction of the prelates. It appears that he had also held meetings contrary to the canons. His wife had also signalized herself by her opposition to prelacy, and by frequenting these private assemblies. They were sustained in their proceedings by Sir William Stewart.

Laud receiving notice of these facts, gave orders that they should be tried and punished. When this important cause came to be tried Pont was absent, having escaped to Scotland, but Sir William Stewart received from Wentworth "a very round and public rebuke for his pains," and Mrs. Pont was thrown into prison, where she lay for nearly three years, till liberated, after the fall of her relentless persecutor, by the interference of the Irish Parliament.

Wentworth, conscious that Sir William Stewart was not the only one of the western gentry tainted with Puritanism, resolved to proceed against every one suspected of this heinous offence. Neither rank nor sex escaped his severity. He determined to remove Lady Clotworthy and other leading Non-Conformists, and in these proceedings he was supported by most of the northern Bishops. Bramhall's zeal drew forth his special commendation; in a letter to him he says, "Your Lordship's course, taken and intended against the two packs of rogues and petty rebels there, (about Derry,) I do both well approve of, and desire your Lordship it may effectually be pursued, thanking your Lordship for the advertisement thereof. And for the clergyman you have committed for his lewd praying for the prosperous success of Scotland in the maintenance of religion, if there be sufficient good witness thereof, as it is likely there may be enow, I desire your Lordship that he may be forthwith very safely conveyed up hither, with sufficient proofs thereabouts, and examinations, if any be taken therein."

But Bishop Leslie was his most active supporter, and cordially co-operated with him in all his arbitrary measures, and displayed much of that mean servility



which characterizes the persecutor. The following letters convey so clear an idea of the state of Ulster at this period, and of the additional severities prepared for the ill-fated Non-Conformists, that no apology seems necessary for inserting them at length.

“THE LORD BISHOP OF DOWN TO THE LORD DEPUTY.

“Most honorable my singular good Lord:—

“Although it becometh not me to make any address unto your lordship but by petition, yet the matters wherein I am to inform requiring secrecy, I hope your lordship will give me leave to direct them unto your lordship in an enclosed letter. There is one Robert Adaire, a justice of peace in the county of Antrim, of five hundred pounds land a-year, who having some estate in Scotland, both joined himself unto the faction there, signed the Covenant, received the oath of rebellion, and now when the Marquis (of Hamilton,) was last in Scotland, he was one of the commissioners for the county against the King, and one of them who were appointed to watch the King's castle (at Edinburg,) that no provision should be carried in. I believe that if there were a strict inquiry there will be found others who have estates in this Kingdom who have done the like.

“All the Puritans in my diocese are confident that the arms raised against the King in Scotland will procure them a liberty to set up their own discipline here amongst themselves, insomuch that many whom I had brought to some measure of conformity have revolted lately, and when I call them in question for it they scorn my process; if I excommunicate them, they

know they will not be apprehended, in regard of the liberty their Lords have of excluding all sheriffs. Besides, it grieveth my heart to hear how many who live in Scotland, who coming over hither about matter of trade, do profess openly that they have signed the Covenant, and justify what they have done, as if the justice of this kingdom could not overtake them. These things I have presumed to represent unto your lordship. So humbly craving pardon for my boldness, I pray God to bless your lordship with all health and happiness, and to continue long amongst us for the good of this church and kingdom. So prayeth your lordship's most humble servant and daily orator.

“HEN. DUNENSIS.

LISNEGARVIE, (Lisburn,) 22d of Sept., 1638.

THE LORD DEPUTY TO THE LORD BISHOP OF DOWN.

“My very good Lord :

“This, with your permission, will be an answer to yours of the 22d of September. As concerning Robert Adaire you therein mention, I now send for him, but till his coming up take not the least notice what the cause is moving me thereunto, and must, in this regard, desire your lordship also to keep the occasion of it to yourself till you hear again from me, which shortly after his arrival here you shall not fail to do.

“In my opinion your lordship should do very well privately to inquire out the names of all others that have danced after the same pipe, as also of all such as profess themselves Covenanters, and send them hither to me. In the rest of the proceedings your lordship shall not be so much as once touched upon or heard of.

“If your lordship be pleased to send me, by the bearer, the list of such as have revolted from their conformity and stand in contempt of your process, as also the places of their abode, I will not fail speedily to send out pursuivants for them, who shall apprehend and render them subject to the ecclesiastical courts and under the jurisdiction of their ordinary.

“Nor is this a business to be neglected or faintly to be slipped over, but quickly and roundly to be corrected in the first beginnings, lest, dandled over long, the humor grow more churlish and difficult to be directed and disposed to the peace of the church and commonwealth, especially in a time when the assumptions and liberty of this generation of people threaten so much distraction and unquietness to both, and, therefore, as I much recommend your lordship’s zeal therein, so will it be ever becoming your lordship’s piety and courage confidentially to oppose and withstand their disobedience and madness, as hitherto you have done, wherein you may be assured of all the assistance that rests in the power of your lordship’s very affectionate faithful friend to serve you,

“WENTWORTH.

“DUBLIN, Oct. 4, 1638.”

BISHOP LESLIE TO THE LORD DEPUTY.

“Most noble and gracious Lord :

“Mr. Adaire not being yet returned out of Scotland, I have presumed to take the letter from the messenger, and have adjured him to the like secrecy as your lordship hath enjoined me, fearing lest he should have inquired after him the danger would be suspected. And I humbly pray that your lordship would be pleased to charge Mr. Lindan, now mayor of Carrick-



fergus, with the delivery of the letters, who, being a principal officer of the custom-house, must needs know of his arrival.

“I know there are many in my diocese and other parts of this kingdom who have joined in this conspiracy, but I am not able to make proof against them if they should deny it, for of late I have had no intelligence out of Scotland—all letters that come unto me are intercepted. Besides, my friends from whom I had wont to receive my information live at Edinburgh and Aberdeen, and know not what is done in the west parts of that country, whither only our people do resort; yet I will use all means to discover them. And in the mean time I dare say that these persons whom I present to your lordship are guilty, because they are notable Nonconformists and have been lately in Scotland: Robert Barr of Malone, Robert Niven of Belfast, George Martin of the same, and David Kennedy and Robert Rosse, who have fled this kingdom for fear of the High Commission, but have left their land behind them.

“As for those who contemn my process and oppose my jurisdiction, they are more in number than would fill all the jails in Ireland; but the churchwardens are the deepest in that guilt, who will present none who are disobedient in the government, and to that purpose they are chosen. As in Scotland they are entered into a bond to defend one another by arms, so it seems that in my diocese they have joined in a bond to defend one another by their oaths. I have, therefore, in obedience to your lordship's commands, sent a list of these churchwardens, extracted out of my registry. If it may so please your good lordship to make all or

some of them examples, it will strike a terror into the rest of that faction.

“ Since his majesty hath been pleased to condescend so far unto them in Scotland by his last proclamation, against which, notwithstanding, they have protested, a copy of both I have sent to my lord of Derry, there is such insulting amongst them here that they make me weary of my life. And, as I am informed, they are now drawing a petition to his Majesty that they may have the like favor in Ireland as is granted to their fellows in Scotland, which I hope your lordship, in your deep wisdom, will prevent. My officers have been beaten in open court. I have sent a warrant for apprehending of the parties, by virtue of a writ of assistance from your lordship, whereof I never made use before, and if I apprehend them I will keep them in restraint till your lordship's pleasure be known. They do threaten me for my life ; but by the grace of God all their brags shall never make me faint in doing service to God and the king. I crave your lordship's humble pardon for this tedious letter, and may God so increase and multiply all his blessings upon your lordship. This is the constant prayer of your lordship's most humble servant and daily orator.

“ HEN. DUENSIS.

“ Oct. 18, 1638.”

These letters were regularly sent to Laud, to whom their contents would not fail to be deeply interesting. He was especially offended by the intimation in one of the letters that the Irish were about to petition the king for the same favor which had been granted to the Scots, and he replied that they had no such concession

to expect for themselves, as Ireland had been reformed by and to the church of England, whereas, the Scots had a church government of their own, "confused enough," but still distinct from that of England.

Leslie, not content with exciting the civil powers against the Non-Conformists, determines to try the force of threats and invectives. In a charge delivered to his clergy and laity, at Lisburn, in October, 1638, afterwards printed both in English and Latin, as a "Confutation of the Government," he complains of the neglect of the (church) catechism, and the excessive love of preaching, which he compares to meat which they could not chew, but preferred to the milk on which they ought to feed. He quotes Paul's words, Is the whole body an ear? from the Geneva Bible, which was used in Ireland and Scotland till 1640, King James' being intended for the church of England. He also quotes a most reverend prelate, as saying that the Puritans had no mark of Christ's sheep but the ear-mark. He compares the churches of his diocese to hog-styes, and contrasts them with the ancient temples of which Julian said, See how the Son of Mary is served. He complains of frequent absences from church, and of the clergy "mincing, cutting and carving" the liturgy, merely reading the lessons and a few collects. He describes the laity as walking in the churchyard during prayers, and then rushing in to hear the sermon, as they would into a play-house, but threatens that ere long it shall be "no prayers, no sermon." He ascribes all this to Scottish influence, and says that now their neighbor's house is burning it is time for them to look out for their own, and concludes with an attack upon extemporaneous prayer.



This summary of Leslie's charge, together with the extracts of the correspondence, very clearly evince the opposition which existed to the ceremonies of the church throughout this populous diocese. They justify the inference, that if non-conformity was so prevalent under this most vigilant and active prelate, it must have been still more prevalent under less intolerant bishops in other parts of the province. They corroborate, in the amplest manner, the statements already made respecting the number of the northern clergy, who were in principle Presbyterian, and who, though coerced with the promise of conformity, to save themselves from persecution, adhered, in the seclusion of their parishes, to the Presbyterian ritual. They testify the conscientious aversion of the great mass of the population to the liturgy, the use of which they refused to countenance by their presence.

To coerce the laity Wentworth induced the bishops to petition for a test oath, which was accordingly prescribed, abjuring not only resistance to the king's authority, but all right of protest or dissent. This is known in history as the Black Oath. Many of the principal laymen objected to the last clause of this oath, in which they are required to swear never to oppose, nor even to "protest against any of his royal commands;" while the Bishop of Raphoe thought it only too mild, "So mean that he would not leave his house to take it." This oath was to be taken kneeling by all above the age of sixteen years, both men and women, many of whom were not allowed to read it beforehand. The Scotch Papists were exempted, but all others who refused this Black Oath were reported to the government and hardly dealt with, by

fine and imprisonment. Even women took refuge in the woods, and there were scarcely men enough to reap the harvest. Respectable persons, untainted with crime, were bound together with chains and immured in dungeons. Several were dragged to Dublin, and fined in exorbitant sums, while multitudes fled to Scotland, leaving their houses and properties to ruin. A letter from Lord Claneboy, now converted from the generous patron to the keen persecutor of his Presbyterian brethren, gives a curious account of the way in which Bale, a blind preacher, endeavored to evade the oath.

Throughout Ulster the *Black Oath* was rigorously enforced; and this descriptive epithet was too amply justified in the persecutions which it occasioned, not only to the conscientious Presbyterian, but to every one attached to the principles, or zealous for the maintenance of civil and religious liberty. Many recusants remained in prison until Wentworth's death, and many fled to Scotland. Armed forces began now to be raised in opposition, among which was a company of more than one hundred men, commanded by one Fulk Ellis, an English gentleman, to which Livingston's parishioners, at Stranraer, contributed surprising sums, a maltman's wife giving "her daughter's portion, whom the Lord had taken to himself." Many of the ministers had narrow escapes. John Semple, afterwards a minister in Scotland, met a pursuivant on the road, who had been sent to take him, and asked Semple the way, not knowing that he was the man he sought. "Another time the Laird of Leckie, with Major Stewart and Semple, came to Newton-Stewart together about their affairs. While the former were

taking a drink, it was presently told them that three pursuivants were at the door; upon which Major Stewart mounted John Semple on his horse, and gave him his hat; who being mounted, and riding by the pursuivants, inquired 'whom they were seeking.' They said, 'If you will tell us where they are whom we are seeking, we will give you a reward.' He answered, 'It may be I will.' Then said they, 'We are seeking the Laird of Leckie and John Semple.' Then putting spurs to his horse, he answered, 'I am John Semple, you rogues!' While they were calling others to help them to follow him, the Laird and Major Stewart took horse and escaped. The pursuivants being disappointed, said, 'All the devils in hell will not catch these rogues.'"

One case of peculiar hardship, arising out of the imposition of this Oath, demands especial notice, from the importance afterwards attached to it on the trial of Wentworth. Henry Stewart, a man of property, with his wife and family, consisting of two daughters and a domestic named James Gray, were, on their refusal to subscribe the oath, taken to Dublin and placed in close confinement. They were examined separately by the attorney general, and their examinations taken as evidence against them. On the 10th of September they were brought to trial in the Star Chamber. Among the judges was Bramhall, who was never absent when a Presbyterian was to be persecuted, and Primate Ussher, whom every Protestant must lament to find employed in such an office, although it is due to him to state that he protested against the doctrine laid down by the other judges, that a refusal of the latter part, involving obedience to ecclesiastical injunc-



tions, amounted to treason. They were sentenced by the court, Stewart and his wife each to pay £5,000, and each of his daughters and Gray £2,000, and they were to be imprisoned until their fines should be paid. On their trial Wentworth avowed his purpose to prosecute all recusants "to the blood," and exterminate them "root and branch." To this family in prison Samuel Rutherford wrote a consolatory letter.

## CHAPTER VI.

1639-1641.

WENTWORTH, who was now in the zenith of his power, would allow no opposition even to his creatures. The highest nobility quailed before him, and any who manifested the slightest sympathy for the Covenanters were marked for ruin.

Among the ministers whom the late ecclesiastical changes in Scotland rendered uncomfortable, was John Corbet, minister of Bonhill, near Dunbarton. Though a Prelatist, he signed the Covenant in Scotland, but would not sign the Assembly's declaration against prelacy, but fled to Ireland, where he was recommended by Bramhall to Wentworth, and wrote two books against Scotland; one a refutation of Alexander Henderson's Instructions for Defensive War, full of spiteful venom, and inculcating absolute submission to the royal will: the other a comparison of the Covenanters with the Jesuits in sixteen points, under the name of Lysimachus Nicanor, a work which provoked the Covenanters greatly, and was ascribed to various well-known writers. This man being presented to a living in the diocese of Killala, was treated coldly by his countryman, Bishop Adair, who punned upon his name and said "this Corbey (raven) which fouled its own nest should find no resting place in his diocese." This being reported by Bramhall to Wentworth, Adair

was deposed, in spite of Ussher's mediation, and Bedell's able argument from the Scriptures and the canons. His successor was Maxwell, ex-Bishop of Ross, an able man and excellent preacher, but one of Charles' favorite instruments in Scotland. He was the author of the book called "*Sacro Sancta Regia Majestas*," to which Rutherford's "*Lex Rex*" was a reply. Maxwell narrowly escaped the Irish massacre, (in which Corbet was hewn to pieces,) and died at Oxford 1643.

Ulster was now quiet, and Charles wanting help from Ireland against Scotland, had recourse to Wentworth for counsel in this emergency. To secure his more cordial co-operation, he appointed him Lord Lieutenant instead of Lord Deputy, and raised him to the rank of an Earl by the title of Strafford, and conferred upon him other marks of approbation and confidence. Strafford in return assisted him with his private fortune, and obtained a liberal subsidy from the Irish Parliament in March, 1640, as well as a flattering vote approving of his own administration. After making arrangements for raising a new army, to be stationed in the north of Ulster, and appointing Sir Christopher Wandesford his deputy, Strafford left Ireland for England, April 4th, 1640, never to return. The new army of eight thousand foot and a thousand horse, chiefly Papists, as appears from their own writers, was commanded by the Duke of Ormond, and was in a high state of discipline, but odious to the Protestant population. After being trained at Carrickfergus, it was to guard the coast, so as to keep Ulster in check, and be ready to invade Scotland. Strafford was not satisfied, however, but directed Sir



George Radcliff, his confidential agent, to make a proposition to the Irish Parliament for the removal of the Scots from Ulster, lest they should join their countrymen against the King or encourage Argyle to invade Ireland. In reply to the objection that they had already taken the Black Oath, he said that many had not, and that many more considered it unlawful and not binding, or they might answer as Robert Bruce, Earl of Carrick, answered Sir John Comyn, when he urged the claims of King Edward, by cleaving his head in two. Their numbers showed that there could be no half measures, that their only course was to "give them the law and send them forthwith packing." Had this scheme been executed, it would have been the ruin, not only of Presbyterianism, but of Protestantism in Ulster, and of the province itself. But there was such a change of feeling in the nation and the Parliament after Strafford's departure, that Radcliff did dare not to make the proposition.

While Strafford was maturing his plans at the British court, and completing his arrangements for maintaining the royal cause triumphant in Ireland, the national temper and dispositions had been silently, but rapidly changing. Scarcely had he retired to England, and intrusted his government to the hands of a deputy, than a spirit of resolute opposition to the court began to manifest itself. Freed from the restraint of his presence, all parties began to complain of the burden of the subsidies imposed by Parliament. Discontent spread quickly through the kingdom. The people no longer suffered in silence. The intolerable grievances of his administration were freely exposed and denounced; and a popular demand for a relief

from its oppressions, and a reform of its abuses, became loud and general.

The English Parliament having been dissolved in June, 1640, communication was opened between the Puritans of both kingdoms, "to whom," says Hume, "the English owe the whole freedom of their constitution." They formed at this time the only party in both kingdoms who entertained correct views of constitutional liberty. In Ireland they were numerous, and were to be found among the members of both houses of Parliament; and in Ulster, though many had abandoned the country and retired to Scotland, they still constituted the predominant party. They now manifested a determination to seek a thorough redress of the grievances under which the country had been groaning. With this end in view, they formed a coalition with the Roman Catholics, a step never taken in the sister kingdom, but resulting in a formidable opposition to the oppressions of the government. Being in the majority in the Irish Parliament, they reduced the subsidies already voted to one-fourth of the amount, and presented an address to the Lord Deputy against the exactions of the clergy and the ecclesiastical courts.

At the next session of the Parliament, in October, they were bolder still, and a remonstrance was presented to the House of Commons, stating in fifteen articles their grievances endured under Strafford. The eighth of these articles represented the city and county of Londonderry, "the first and most useful settlement in Ulster, and its chief strength," as almost destroyed. The ninth complained of the High Commission Court, its illegal exactions, and encroachments upon other courts. This celebrated remonstrance was sent to

England by a committee of three from each province, all of whom were either Roman Catholics or Puritans. The representatives of Ulster were Sir James Montgomery, M. P. for Devonshire, Sir William Cole, M. P. for Fermanagh, and Edward Rowley, M. P. for Londonderry. Though forbidden by the deputy, they sailed for England on the 12th of November, and on their arrival found Strafford stripped of his power, impeached by the Commons of England, and imprisoned under the charge of high treason !

The circumstances which led to this unexpected vicissitude are well known. The pressing necessities of the king had at length compelled him reluctantly to summon another Parliament, which sat, with some interruptions, for nineteen years, and has hence been styled the LONG PARLIAMENT. It assembled at one of the most critical periods in the history of the nation. The tyrannical conduct of Charles—his arbitrary encroachments on the rights of the people—his avowed contempt of Parliaments, and his determination to rule, if possible, independently of their control—the glaring abuses in the administration of justice—the cruelty and oppression of illegal courts—the decay of trade by monopolies and impositions—and above all the corruption of religion—the insolence and violence of the clergy, and the gradual assimilation of the church, under the auspices of Laud, to the Romish superstition—these grievances, affecting every class, and involving matters of the deepest interest to every individual, had justly excited so general a discontent throughout the kingdom, and roused so resolute a spirit of hostility to the court, as could no longer be subdued or repressed.



On the 30th of November, 1640, the memorable Parliament was opened by the king in person, and on the third day of meeting, on motion of Mr. Pym, in a speech of great force and eloquence, it went into committee of the whole on the state of Ireland. The motion was seconded by Sir John Clotworthy of Antrim, who had removed to England in consequence of his opposing Wentworth's monopoly of linen yarn, and was chosen to Parliament from two places, one in Cornwall, and the other (Malden) in Essex, which last he chose to represent. Being a firm patriot and a staunch Presbyterian, and well acquainted with Irish affairs, he contributed materially to the fall of Strafford. On the 11th of November the Commons adopted the bold and hazardous resolution of impeaching Strafford of high treason. A committee, of whom Sir John Clotworthy was one, was appointed to prepare the charges against him. The same day he was formally impeached at the bar of the House of Lords, and immediately sequestered from his seat, and committed to the tower. One of Baillie's letters gives a graphic account of his appearance when summoned before the House.

“The word goes in haste to the Lord Lieutenant, when he was with the King; with speed he comes to the House; he calls rudely at the door; James Maxwell, keeper of the black rod, opens; his lordship, with a proud, gloomy countenance, makes towards his place at the board head; but at once many bid him void the house; so he is forced, in confusion, to go to the door till he was called. After consultation, being called in, he stands, but is commanded to kneel, and on his

knees to hear the sentence. Being on his knees, he is delivered to the keeper of the black rod, to be prisoner till he was cleared of these crimes the House of Commons had charged him with. He offered to speak, but was commanded to begone without a word. In the outer room John Maxwell required him, as prisoner, to deliver his sword. This done, he makes through a number of people towards his coach, all gazing, none capping to him, before whom that morning the grandest of England would have stood discovered."

The committee from the Irish Parliament, arriving at this critical juncture, were received in London with every mark of respect. On the 20th of November their remonstrance was presented to the House of Commons, and produced an impression most unfavorable to Strafford. This application was the first ever made by the Irish to the English Parliament, and formed at this period an important precedent in favor of the people of Ireland. Their own Parliament had been suddenly prorogued by Wandesford, Strafford's deputy, with the view of checking the spirit of opposition to the court, which had been growing daily more formidable. The only channel, therefore, through which they could make known their grievances, or seek for redress, lay in the Parliament of England. The way having been once opened to this tribunal, their petitions were favorably received; and many of the Irish nobility and commoners having repaired to London to assist in bringing to justice their impeached governor, every facility was thereby enjoyed by the oppressed in Ireland for submitting their respective grievances to the notice of Parliament.

The exile of the ministers and persecution of the

Puritans, in Ulster, had led before this time to night meetings, in which laymen took the lead, among whom two of the most noted were John Kelso and the laird of Leckie, whose name still continues in and about Derry. This practice having been introduced into Scotland, led to warm discussions in the General Assembly of 1640, by which it was condemned, at the suggestion of Henry Guthrie, of Sterling ; but a more moderate decision was adopted by a subsequent assembly under the lead of Alexander Henderson.

A petition for the restitution of the ministers and their endowments was presented to the English Parliament, with the signatures of fifteen hundred persons, and though Bramhall wrote to Ussher, that "if that was thought the way, half of them could be induced to sign a contrary petition, with five thousand better than themselves," we learn from Ussher's answer, that when both had been presented, that of the Puritans was signed by a "huge number," and "far larger" than the other. This petition, the first which emanated from Irish Presbyterians, was presented by Sir John Clotworthy not earlier than April, 1641. It bore the name of "Some Protestant inhabitants of Ulster," and complained of the "unblest way of prelacy," as having starved their souls and ruined their estates." So that by the arts of "taskmasters" and "incendiaries" they had become "no people," and could only be restored by a powerful and able ministry." To the petition was added a "Particular," or statement of specific grievances, digested under thirty-one heads. The charges in this petition were followed by others equally strong against the conduct of Strafford in the administration of the civil affairs of the kingdom. While the Parliament was proceeding



steadily in their impeachment, the Irish Commons re-assembling in March, 1641, followed their example, and impeached four of the confidants of Strafford, among whom was Bramhall, as participators in his treason.

Of the charges against Strafford, sixteen related to Ireland, among which was his commission to Bishop Leslie, empowering him at pleasure to imprison the Non-Conformists; his imposition of the Black Oath, without authority of Parliament, and his treatment of the Stewarts; which last produced a strong impression on the House. Sir John Clotworthy and Sir James Montgomery appeared as witnesses, and their testimony was of great importance in bringing home the charge of violation of the fundamental laws of the kingdom. The trial took place in Westminster Hall, from the 21st of March to the 13th of April, and was followed by a bill of attainder, against which there were only fifty-nine votes in the Commons, and nineteen in the Lords. The King perfidiously gave his assent, and Strafford was beheaded on Tower Hill, May 12, 1641, in the forty-seventh year of his age. His deputy, Sir Christopher Wandesford, died suddenly a few months after.

The government of Ireland, after some changes, was entrusted to two Lords Justices, Sir John Parsons and Sir John Borlase, both of whom were Puritans; but the latter being a military officer, the chief burden and responsibility of the government rested on the former. They cordially coöperated with the Papists in repairing the damage caused by Strafford's administration. Archibald Adair, the deposed Bishop of Killala, was released from prison, and made Bishop of Waterford, in place of Adderton, one of his old enemies, who had been

executed for an infamous crime. Henry Stewart and his family were released from prison, but in abject poverty, their property having been all confiscated. Mr. Stewart returned to Scotland, of which he was a native, and applied to the Parliament sitting in Edinburgh for relief. His case was referred, with a recommendation to the English commissioners, and the English Parliament, both Houses concurring, granted damages to the amount of £1,500 to Stewart, and £400 to his servant, Gray, which sums were paid out of the sequestered estate of Sir George Radcliffe. Adair of Ballymena, whom Strafford and Leslie were so anxious to seize, but who escaped into Scotland, was returned to sit in the Scottish Parliament, as Laird of Kilhill and member for the shire of Galloway, petitioned the House to recommend him to Charles, that the sentence of the Irish courts, pronouncing him a traitor, might be reversed. They unanimously recommended his case, and his sentence was finally rescinded and its penalties removed. A lineal descendant of the same name still enjoys the restored property.

The English Parliament also contributed its powerful aid to the redress of Irish grievances, and by a unanimous vote of the House they rescinded the sentence of the Star-Chamber Court, in England, by which the county of Londonderry, with the towns of Derry and Coleraine, had been forfeited to the Crown. This extensive confiscation was one of the most impolitic, as it was one of the most unjust, measures of Strafford's administration, for not only did it, by endangering the property, rouse the indignation of all who held by patent from the Crown,—a very numerous and influential class in Ireland,—but by wresting this

valuable plantation from the corporation of London, so deep a resentment was excited in that city against him that his fall was thereby greatly accelerated. Their property was now restored to the corporation, to the great joy of the whole city, and to the manifest prosperity of this portion of Ulster. Nor ought it to be forgotten that, in less than half a century afterwards, the safety of the empire at large, and its deliverance from Popish tyranny and misrule, were in a great measure owing to the performance of this act of justice by the English Commons. Had this extensive plantation, with its important towns and cities, continued under the immediate patronage and direct influence of the subsequent Kings of England, in all human probability, James II. would never have been defeated under the walls of Derry.

The Irish Parliament, following the example of the English, acted vigorously in remedying the evils of Strafford's administration, one of their principal acts being the abolition of the High Commission Court, annulling its offensive acts and those of the bishops. Measures were also taken to restore Trinity College to its primitive condition, but were interrupted by the rebellion.

During these legislative proceedings the army which Strafford had stationed on the eastern coast of Antrim remained inactive, occupying their time in constructing earthworks, encampments, etc., as a school of practice. Charles having in the meantime acceded to the demands of his Scottish subjects, and relinquished the design of invading that kingdom,—the object for which these forces had been raised—they were thus rendered useless; nor was there any pretext for main-



taining any longer this offensive establishment. The English Parliament, accordingly, at the suggestion both of Protestants and Romanists, urged Charles to disband these forces ; but he evinced the utmost anxiety to keep the army on foot. The former began to be apprehensive that, consisting chiefly of Romanists, and commanded by the creatures of Strafford, it might be transported to England, to support, by force of arms, the royal against the popular party. They therefore urged their application with great earnestness, and Charles was at length compelled to yield to their importunity ; and the army was disbanded in the month of August, and their arms and ammunition deposited in the castle at Dublin.

But though dissolved as an Irish army, Charles was anxious that, in conjunction with additional levies, they might, under the sanction of the Irish Parliament, be permitted to enter into the service of his ally, the King of Spain, in Flanders. But all parties in the Commons united in opposing this design. The Puritans were against it, on the ground that these forces would be as conveniently placed there as in Ireland, for the invasion of England, should Charles be led to adopt this desperate measure, of which they were becoming more and more apprehensive. The Popish party affected to clamor against their removal, lest they might be sent back by the Spanish monarch, whose ancestors had often meditated the invasion of Ireland, for the purposes of rebellion or of conquest. Subsequent events render it probable that the leaders of the latter party opposed the removal of this disciplined soldiery, actuated by the same religious prejudices and antipathies as themselves, with the view

of retaining them to aid in the rebellion, which, there is reason to believe, was even then meditated. The English concurred with the Irish Parliament in opposing the removal of these troops ; and thus thousands of an idle, restless soldiery, hostile to the English power, full of hatred against the Puritans, and ready to be engaged in any enterprise, however desperate, were detained in the country to aggravate the horrors of the rebellion, which in a few months afterwards broke out, and deluged the kingdom with seas of blood.

## CHAPTER VII.

1641.

IRELAND had never been so prosperous as just after the fall of Strafford. The abuses of his government had been redressed, and all dissatisfaction with respect to defective titles had been removed by the confirmation of the Graces, and by other conciliatory acts of the Sovereign and the English Parliament. The Roman Catholics enjoyed full toleration, and shared with the Protestants the titles conferred on the peers of Ireland by James and Charles, while their gentry were members of Parliament, judges, magistrates and sheriffs. Their clergy were unmolested in their religious rites and their other ecclesiastical functions, and a new era of national improvement and civilization appeared to be opening on the country.

But these anticipations were grievously disappointed by the breaking out of the great rebellion. This undoubtedly originated with the native Irish, prompted by the chieftains whose estates had been confiscated in the beginning of the century, and who were now living in the courts of Rome and Madrid, enjoying splendid allowances, and holding high military rank, and at the same time keeping up communication with their own country, especially through Popish priests. The native Irish, always impatient of the English yoke, had been rendered more so by the conduct of Charles as to the Graces, and of Strafford as to the defective titles,



although these complaints were now removed by the Lords Justices.

But the chief design of the rebellion was a religious one, to destroy Protestantism, and restore the patrimony of the Romish Church. The Protestant faith had been pressed upon them and propagated by those whom they were artfully taught to consider as their oppressors, and their native language, as a vehicle of instruction, had been most unaccountably neglected. The reformed clergy, with a few exceptions, had been indolent and careless; on the one hand bigoted and intolerant, and on the other despising the Irish as being incapable of improvement. The bitter feeling thus generated was fostered by the priests, who had as strong a desire to regain their ecclesiastical property as the nobility to recover their forfeited estates. This movement was encouraged by the Pope in the hope of recovering "the isle of saints," still regarded as the especial patrimony of the Romish see. It was also promoted by the example of the Scots, though free from all conspiracy and treachery; and also by unfounded reports as to the persecuting spirit and design of the English Puritans. One of these stories represented Sir John Clotworthy as having said that the conversion of the Papists in Ireland was only to be effected by the Bible in one hand and the sword in the other.

The plot had long been forming; even during the administration of Strafford their leaders had held frequent consultations on the projected insurrection, but its execution seems to have been hastened by the state of affairs in England, Charles' breach with the Parliament, and secret endeavors to coerce it by the help of the army. He was now looking for assistance to the

Irish troops, which had not been removed on the death of Strafford. He and his Queen intrigued with the Roman Catholic commissioners, who went to England from the Irish Parliament, to detach them from the Puritans and enlist them on the King's side, which had already been espoused by the two leading noblemen of Ireland, the Marquises of Ormond and Antrim.

The plan on which these several partisans of the King were required to act was, to seize simultaneously the capital, and principal fortified places throughout the kingdom; to disarm all who would not enter into their scheme—even the Lords Justices, if they offered any opposition. They were then to reorganize the army and increase it to twenty thousand, and having secured the power, to assume the government in the King's name, and finally to call a Parliament, which, situated as the country would then be, must necessarily be devoted to the royal cause.

While these plans were maturing Charles resolved to visit Scotland, hoping, by concessions, or these failing, by stratagems to secure the co-operation of that kingdom in his plans against the national liberties. Accordingly, in the month of August he set out for Edinburgh, accompanied by Lord Dillon, a Roman Catholic nobleman, and member of the Irish committee. The other Roman Catholic members of that committee returned about the same time to Ireland to watch the interests there.

Up to this point, the views of both parties among the conspirators were perfectly coincident—beyond it they were quite opposite. The primary projectors of the rebellion, such as Lord Maguire, Roger Moore, Plunket, Sir Phelim O'Neill, &c., looked upon the

seizure of Dublin, and the reorganization of the army, merely as preliminary steps to the overthrow of the British power, the separation of the kingdom from England, the recovery of the forfeited estates, and the expulsion of the Protestants : on the accomplishment of these objects they might then, as an independent Catholic nation, support Charles against his refractory Parliament. On the other hand, the King's confidential friends, such as the Earls of Ormond and Antrim, Lord Gormanstown, and perhaps the other gentry of the Pale, Sir James Dillon, &c., do not appear to have contemplated, in their scheme of insurrection, any unnecessary violence to the persons or property of the British. Their grand aim was to remove the Puritan party from the government of the kingdom, and to place it and its resources at the disposal of the King. Until the rebellion broke out, however, both parties cordially coöperated, and conducted their negotiations without division or apparent distrust.

Charles was now in Scotland, hoping to secure that kingdom in opposition to the Parliament, and while there sent orders to his Irish leaders to disarm the Irish Protestants or Puritans, but not to hurt his "loyal and loving subjects" the Scots of Ulster. This commission, it is conjectured, was carried to Ireland by Lord Dillon, and accelerated the breaking out of the insurrection.

The day fixed for the outbreak was first the 5th of October, but owing to the reluctance of the more moderate party to have recourse so suddenly to arms, and their desire to make their first appeal to Parliament, which was to assemble in the beginning of November, it was changed to the 23d of October, when two hun-



dred men were to meet in Dublin, as if en route for Spain, and then under Roger Moore, Maguire and others, seize the castle with its valuable store, artillery, arms and ammunition, while Sir Phelim O'Neill was to rise on the same day in Ulster, seizing Derry and Carrickfergus, disarming the Protestants, but leaving the Scots unmolested.

In the spring of the same year Charles had communicated to the Lords Justices reports from Spain of an intended rising in Ireland; and in the autumn Sir William Cole, of Enniskillen, informed them of unusual gatherings at the house of Lord Maguire, in Fermanagh, and of Sir Phelim O'Neill, in Tyrone, and of active correspondence with the native Irish and the Lords of the Pale. But the outbreak was prevented by a disclosure made to the Lords Justices the day before by Owen O'Connolly, a native Irishman and Papist, but brought up in the family of Sir John Clotworthy, and now a zealous Presbyterian. He had at this time left the service of Sir John, probably at the removal of that excellent family to England, and had settled at Moneymore, in the county of Derry. He had been urged by one of the conspirators, McMahon, to meet him at his house in Monaghan, and followed him to Dublin, where he was made acquainted with the plot; and after trying to dissuade McMahon, made it known, so that the Lords Justices had barely time to secure the castle and arrest the chief conspirators. By this seasonable disclosure of O'Connolly the principal aim of the conspirators was providentially defeated, and their associates of the Pale were so disheartened by the disappointment, and so awed by the vigilance of the executive, that they appear to have abandoned the cause,

until the successful progress of the northern rebels encouraged them to resume it a few months afterwards.

On the same night, according to the agreement of the conspirators, O'Neill surprised the castle of Charlemont, under the pretext of a friendly visit to Lord Caulfield, the commander, and the next day seized the strong posts of Dungannon and Moneymore. At the same time different Irish clans took forcible possession of Mountjoy in Tyrone, Tandragee in Armagh, and of Newry, Monaghan, Castleblany, Carrickfergus, Cloughouter, and the open towns of Fermanagh, Donegal and Derry. The Protestants having been disarmed by Strafford, in 1639, to prevent their coöperation with the Scots, could offer no effectual resistance. The cities of Derry and Enniskillen, and a few detached forts, were preserved by means of timely intelligence received from Sir William Cole of Enniskillen.

In the same manner Coleraine and Carrickfergus were preserved. Mr. William Rowley, living in the neighborhood of Moneymore, hearing that the town had been seized, hastened to Coleraine with the alarming news, which was soon confirmed by the arrival of great numbers of the pillaged inhabitants from the counties of Derry and Antrim, and by this timely notice the important post of Coleraine was secured, and though frequently attacked, it was gallantly defended by the inhabitants under Colonel Edward Rowley, until relieved by aid from Scotland, and proved during the first part of the rebellion an asylum for many Protestants, including twenty ministers.

Carrickfergus, the only fortified town on the eastern



coast of Ulster, was also preserved from an attack already arranged under one of the Macdonnells. The news of the insurrection reached this place on the night of the 23d of October, and Colonel Arthur Chichester, the governor, took immediate measures for saving the town by the beating of drums and lighting beacons on the hills, thus warning the inhabitants of the impending danger. The next day the Protestant inhabitants from the surrounding country crowded in, armed with pitchforks and such weapons as they could procure in their haste. At first the insurrection was thought to be no more than a local quarrel between parties of the English and the Irish, but the return of the scouts who had been sent out made known the fact that it was a simultaneous rising of the Irish Romanists against the British power and people. News of the rebellion was immediately dispatched to the King at Edinburgh, which was received on the 28th of October, it being the first intelligence which reached Scotland. In the meantime the gentry and officers at Carrickfergus consulted whether they should remain and defend the town or issue out to meet the insurgents, and after communicating by letter with Lord Montgomery, in the county of Down, he directed them to muster what force they could and meet him at Lisburn the next day.

The town and castle of Antrim was secured on the first outbreak by the prompt action of Colonel James Clotworthy, who was acting in the place of his brother Sir John, who was in London, and Castle Norton, at Templepatrick, near Antrim, was put in a state of defence by Captain Henry Upton. The town of Larne was held by Captain Agnew and the neighboring cas-



tle of Ballygelly by Mr. James Shaw. The lower part of the county of Antrim was defended by Archibald Stewart, Esq., the most influential Protestant in that extensive district. On the morning of the 24th of October, having received news of the rebellion, he came to the church at Devock and informed the congregation of the danger, and immediately raised a force of eight hundred men from among his own tenantry and those of the Earl of Antrim, placing garrisons in the church of Ballintoy and in the castle of Oldstone, near Clough, besides establishing posts at the most important points in the open country.

In order to draw off the Roman Catholics of the neighborhood from the rebels he appointed the famous Colkitto (or Alaster Macdonnel) to a captaincy in his own regiment; and when a party of horse from Carrickfergus came to arrest this well known and influential Romanist, Mr. Stewart interposed in his behalf, but his confidence was almost immediately betrayed by the desertion of Colkitto to the Roman Catholic party, and he afterwards became the cruel and implacable enemy of the Antrim Protestants.

Belfast and Lisburn were preserved by the courage and prompt action of Robert Lawson, a merchant of Londonderry. At the time that the insurrection broke out Mr. Lawson was on his way to Dublin, when hearing of the rebellion at Newry he returned to Belfast, and finding the inhabitants in the utmost consternation he passed through the streets with a drum, calling upon the men to unite with him in defence of the place; and having collected about one hundred and twenty men, on the 25th of October, the second day after the rebellion, he marched to Lisburn, which he

found deserted by the garrison and most of the inhabitants. At night he illuminated the market-house with candles and stationed sentries at many points of the town with six or seven lighted matches apiece, in order to deceive the enemy as to their numbers. The next morning the rebels appeared before the town, and Captain Lawson, selecting forty-five men, made a sally, killing some and taking many prisoners. On the 27th the garrison and inhabitants returned to hear of the gallant defence of the town by Lawson.

While Captain Lawson was thus protecting Lisburn, Colonel Chichester had been endeavoring to effect the proposed junction with Lord Montgomery at that town. On Monday, the 25th, he mustered his forces in a field adjoining Carrickfergus, and having left a sufficient garrison in the castle, he marched with the remainder, amounting to about three hundred horse and foot towards the appointed rendezvous. They arrived at Belfast in the afternoon, where they were joined by a reinforcement of one hundred and fifty men from Antrim. On their march they met with one of Lord Antrim's domestics, hastening from Dublin to inform his lordship's friends in the north of the state of affairs there. From him they obtained the welcome intelligence of the preservation of the metropolis and the seizure of the principal conspirators. They remained all Monday at Belfast, but in the morning, receiving information of a meditated attack upon Carrickfergus, Colonel Chichester fell back for the support of that important post, but the information proving incorrect, he returned, and on Wednesday effected a junction with Lord Montgomery, who had advanced by Drumbo. Captain Lawson, in view of his late gal-

lantry, received a commission from the Protestant noblemen and officers assembled at Lisburn. The united forces now gathered amounted to about fifteen hundred, but undisciplined and inadequately armed. With the exception of a few strong places, Antrim was in possession of the rebels, which they held until June 1642.

While the Protestants in the southern portion of the county of Antrim were thus occupied in providing places of security, their brethren in Down were not inactive. Lords Claneboy and Montgomery stood upon the defensive, and effectually checked the progress of the insurrection in the adjoining districts. From Newry, however, the insurgents, under Con Magennis, advanced in a northerly direction towards the town of Dromore, where the news of the rebellion had reached a few days before. On the reception of the intelligence Captain Matthews, the governor, with an escort of about twenty men, had marched out towards Newry to gain some information of the reported rising, and on approaching the river Bann he discovered the insurgents, amounting to five hundred, advancing on the opposite side of the river; upon demanding their purpose, they boldly avowed that it was to "fire all the Protestants out of the country." Upon receiving this answer Matthews retreated to Dromore, and after inducing the bishop, Dr. Buckworth, to remain for the encouragement of the people, he collected a force of one hundred and eighty foot, with which he boldly attacked the enemy, now near the town, and, without losing a man, routed them completely, with a loss on their side of several hundred. The next day Colonel Chichester arrived with a reinforcement, but finding



the town untenable returned to Lisburn. Magennis immediately took possession and treated with wanton cruelty the few Protestants who had ventured to remain. On the 4th of November O'Neill and Magennis issued a proclamation from Newry "to all Catholics of the Roman party, both English and Irish, within the kingdom of Ireland, we wish all happiness, freedom of conscience, and victory over the English heretics who have for a long time tyrannized over our bodies and usurped by extortion our estates." In this document they set forth the King's commission, dated at Edinburgh, authorizing them to take up arms in support of the royal power and authority, as their warrant, which increased their numbers greatly, so that thirty thousand men joined the standard of revolt three weeks from its first erection.

From this period all moderation was abandoned. The failure of the attempt on Dublin led the more moderate of the rebels to withdraw and left the movement in the hands of O'Neill and his fanatical adherents, who soon began to disregard the royal injunctions and to carry on a savage war of extermination against all Protestants, both Scotch and English. He encouraged his infuriated followers to give free vent to the direful passions of hatred and revenge which the Romish priesthood had for years been fostering in their breasts against the Protestants. Prompted thus by the priests and by Ever M'Mahon, the Romish Bishop of Down, he plunged into the deepest atrocities. The result was one of the most fearful massacres on record, in which no condition, age, or sex was spared. All appeals to humanity or the ties of blood were in vain; companions, friends, relations, dealt with their

own hands the fatal blow ; sons pleading for their parents were struck down with the words on their lips ; the tender mother was made the witness of the death of her child ; the wife, weeping over the body of her mangled husband, experienced a death no less horrid than that which she deplored. Among the insurgents, women, whose feeble minds received a yet stronger impression of religious frenzy, were more ferocious than the men ; and children, excited by the example and exhortation of their parents, stained their innocent age with the blackest deeds of human butchery. The sighs, groans, and shrieks of the victims were answered with—"Spare neither man, woman, nor child ; the English are meat for dogs ; there shall not be one drop of English blood left within the kingdom." This led to terrible retaliations, one of which, the massacre of Islandmagee, has been represented as the first blood shed in the rebellion, as perpetrated by a military force, and as involving the death of more than three thousand ; whereas it was a local act of revenge, occasioned by previous acts of treachery and enmity, and executed by country people with the aid of a few soldiers, on the 9th of January, 1642, only thirty persons being killed.

Ulster was now converted into a "field of blood." The cruelties of the Romanists drew down upon them, as we have seen, severe retaliation on the part of the betrayed and exasperated Protestants. Seldom was any quarter given by the rebels to those who fell into their hands ; so that during the winter season the greater part of all the northern counties exhibited appalling scenes of horrid cruelty.

The evils of this civil war were aggravated by the

horrors of famine and pestilence, occasioned by the wanton destruction of provisions and neglect of burial, the ravages of which, as stated, are almost incredible, especially in Coleraine. The following account of its fatality in the county of Antrim alone has been preserved, and though probably exaggerated will convey some idea of its malignity :—"The Lord sent a pestilential fever, which swept away innumerable people, in-somuch that in Coleraine there died in four months, by computation, six thousand ; in Carrickfergus, two thousand five hundred ; in Belfast and Malone, above two thousand ; in Lisnegarvey, eight hundred ; and in Antrim and other places a proportionable number." A minister who resided in Coleraine during the whole course of the rebellion, says:—"In four months, the mortality beginning with the spring, there died an hundred a week constantly, and sometimes an hundred and fifty, by just account taken by Henry Beresford, gentleman, one of the last that closed that black list ; so that two thousand died in a short space."

Though all classes of Protestants were equally exposed to the persecution, yet the clergy were especially marked by the priests as the first victims of their fury, and especially was the Bible an object of their rage, which was torn, burnt, trampled on, and treated with all possible indignity, saying, "a plague on it ; this book hath bred all the quarrel ;" and as they were burning, exclaiming that it was "hell fire that was burning," and wishing that they had "all the Bibles in Christendom, that they might use them so."

About thirty ministers were massacred in one small part of Ulster, while many more died in extreme wretchedness. Bishop Bedell, of Kilmore, was spared by the



rebels, on account of his benevolence and known devotion to the Irish interest. He was the only Englishman left undisturbed in the county of Cavan. He even furnished an asylum to others, who filled his house, outbuildings, church, and churchyard. This continued for eight weeks after the breaking out of the rebellion, when more violent measures were resorted to by the Irish leaders, and he was removed as a prisoner to Lochwater Castle. After three weeks' imprisonment in this wretched tower, situated in the middle of a lake, he and his family were released. But they were not permitted to leave the county, but resided in the house of a Protestant minister. While residing there he was seized with his last sickness, which continued to increase, until on the 7th of February, 1642, he fell asleep in the Lord and entered into his rest. Before his death he had requested that he might be buried by the side of his wife in the churchyard of Kilmore, which was after some hesitation granted. The Irish did him unusual honor at his burial; they discharged a volley of shot over his grave, and cried out, "*Requiescat in pace ultimus anglorum.*" According to another account, (not given by Bishop Burnet,) a Popish priest said on the same occasion, "*O, sit anima mea cum Bedello!*"

The war was worst in Ulster, its excesses being condemned even by the Papists and the rebels of the other provinces, where there was less to provoke fanatical fury. The rebels boasted to Dr. Maxwell, Bedell's successor, when a prisoner in their hands, that by the month of March they had slain one hundred and fifty-four thousand Protestants; and a printed book, by an Irish Jesuit, published in 1645, admits that one hun-

dred and fifty thousand heretics had been cut off in four years. The lowest estimate supposes thirty-seven thousand to have died the first year.

Thus the Presbyterian interest in Ulster was almost totally destroyed. Protestant prelates had commenced the work of compelling the greater part of the Presbyterians to flee to Scotland. But what appeared to be the ruin proved to be the preservation of the Church, while they who had been the foremost to persecute were the first to suffer. For, on the bishops and other dignified clergy the Roman Catholics vented their rage and indignation ; and while the Scots were, in the first instance spared, their Episcopal persecutors were in their turn compelled to abandon their properties, and fly for refuge to England.

As a body, the Presbyterians suffered less by the ravages of the rebellion than any other class. The more influential of their ministers and the principal part of their gentry had previously retired to Scotland, to escape the tyranny of Strafford and the severities of the bishops, and were thus providentially preserved. Those who remained in the country were at first unmolested by the Irish, in conformity with the royal commission. Their temporary preservation gave them time to procure arms and to take other necessary measures to protect themselves against the storm which they saw approaching. When the rebels, therefore, abandoned their professed neutrality and fell upon them as furiously as upon the English, they were prepared for the attack. When they associated together in sufficient numbers, they were generally enabled to maintain their ground, and frequently repulsed the assailants with loss. But when, trusting to the profes-

sions of their Irish neighbors, they relaxed their vigilance and continued unarmed, they seldom failed to suffer the penalty of their misplaced confidence. One instance may suffice to prove the truth of this observation. Mr. Robert Stewart of the Irry, near Stewartstown, in the county of Tyrone, a relation of the Castlestewart family, and married to the grand-daughter of the outlawed Earl of Tyrone, had, on the first alarm of the rebellion, collected and armed about six hundred Scots. With this force he could easily have defended the whole of the surrounding country. Being assured, however, by his Irish relations that none of the Scots should suffer any molestation, he was induced in a few days to dismiss his followers and take back their arms. But the very night on which they reached their homes the greater number of them were murdered by their perfidious enemies.

The public ordinances of religion were, of course, interrupted, the ministers killed or fled, the churches burned or seized by the papists. But neither the restraints to which they were subjected under the bishops nor their present destitution weakened their attachment to their church. They retained their religious principles as firmly and successfully as they did their lives and property until the arrival of succor from Scotland; and the return of their banished brethren, after peace had been restored, enabled them to revive their church in Ulster under more favorable circumstances than at its first plantation.



## CHAPTER VIII.

1641, 1642.

THE necessary steps having been taken to secure the capital, the Lords Justices sent messengers to inform the King in Edinburgh and the Parliament in England of their perilous position. Commissioners were also sent by sea to Ulster, the rebels holding the overland route, empowering Captain Arthur Chichester and Sir Arthur Tyringham to take command of all the forces in the county of Antrim, and urging Lords Chichester, Claneboy, and Montgomery to use their best efforts to suppress the rebellion. On the 7th of November dispatches were received from the King promising the northern Protestants immediate support. The principal gentlemen of Ulster were commissioned to raise troops against the rebels, and Sir John Clotworthy returned to Antrim to share in the perils and fatigues of the war. Arms and ammunition were abundantly provided, so that in a short time the Protestant leaders in Ulster were fully prepared to meet the rebels. In the meantime O'Neill reduced the castle of Lurgan, after a gallant defense by Sir William Brownlow, who capitulated on condition of his being permitted to retire with his family and property, which condition was most treacherously violated, his servants being stripped and plundered, some of them killed, and himself and family thrown into prison. Being repulsed in an attack upon Lisburn by Sir Arthur Tyringham and Sir

George Rawdon, O'Neill withdrew to the northwest of Ulster, but was there again disappointed, capturing but few places of little importance. In the beginning of December he succeeded in taking Strabane, plundering and burning the town and holding the castle. He remained in the castle with his forces, making occasional incursions through the adjoining country, but becoming enamored with lady Strabane, he carried her to his castle at Caledon, where they were afterwards married.

This part of the country was successfully defended by the Lagan forces, a thousand were raised in Donegal and Tyrone, called from the Lagan, the name of the district between the Foyle and the Swilly. These forces were commanded by Sir William and Sir Robert Stewart, under the King's commission. Though unable to protect Strabane, they garrisoned Newton-Stewart and Omagh, and relieved Castle Augher in Tyrone, held by the Rev. Archibald Areskine against Phelim O'Neill and Rory Maguire, who had invested it. Driven from Augher the rebels next invested Castlederg in the same county, from which they were repulsed by Sir Robert Stewart. In the meantime Sir William Stewart, with another portion of the Lagan forces, marched to Kilmacrenan, in Donegal, where the rebels had early taken possession of Sir William's castle, plundering his towns and scattering the Protestant inhabitants; another party, under Captains Maxwell and George Stewart, recovered Ramelton and its castle, and supported by the neighboring garrison of Derry, effectually checked the progress of the rebels in that quarter. The city of Derry was abundantly provided with defenders, but deficient in supplies and ammuni-

tion, which occasioned great privations. The leading men here, were the governor, Sir John Vaughan, the mayor Robert Thornton, Captain Lawson, who has been already mentioned, and his brother-in-law, Alderman Henry Osborn.

These commanders entered into a mutual "league" for the protection of the city and the surrounding country. They repaired the ramparts, built barracks for the soldiers within the walls, and sent word of their situation to the King in Edinburg, to their landlords, the corporation of the city of London, who sent them ordnance, and to the Lords Justices at Dublin, from whom they received arms and ammunition. Here, suffering many privations, they spent the winter.

The state of affairs in Ulster now attracted universal attention, and as soon as the King had informed the Scottish Parliament of the breaking out of the rebellion, they ordered an examination of the shipping on their western coast, to see how many men could be transported to Ulster; upon further information they offered a supply of three thousand stand of arms and ten thousand men for the relief of Ireland. But feeling their inability to give full assistance they opened negotiations with the English Parliament. The Commons had already, from the news which O' Connolly had communicated of the rebellion, voted money and a levy of men, but the critical condition of Ireland coming to their knowledge they increased the supplies. On the 10th of December, the first conference on this subject took place in London between a committee from the two Houses of Parliament, on the one hand, and commissioners sent up from Scotland on the other, but these negotiations were embarrassed by the



mutual jealousies of King and Parliament; but at length Charles issued his commission, dated Feb. 8th, 1642, for ten thousand men, of which twenty-five hundred were to be sent at once and occupy Carrickfergus, while the rest were to follow as soon as possible and take possession of Coleraine.

The first draft was composed of detachments from seven Scotch regiments (viz: Glencairn's, Argyle's, Eglington's, Sinclair's, Home's, Monroe's and Lindsay's,) under the command of Major General Robert Monroe, an able and experienced officer. They reached their rendezvous on the western coast of Scotland about the middle of March, but on account of various detentions they did not reach Carrickfergus till the 15th of April, when they immediately relieved the regiments of Conway and Chichester, who moved to Belfast.

With these regiments, and those of Claneboy and Montgomery united to his own, (except a garrison of eight hundred left at Carrickfergus,) Monroe attacked the rebels in the woods of Kilwarlin, where, under the command of Con Magennis, they held an important pass on the road to Newry. After a short skirmish, the rebels were put to flight; and the British, following the example which the Irish had too often set in previous encounters of refusing quarter, cruelly and unjustifiably put to death all who fell into their hands.

On Saturday, the 30th of April, both divisions of the army met at this pass, and having defeated another body of the rebels at Loughbrickland, they marched to Newry, which had been in possession of the Irish for six months. The town, being imperfectly fortified, was immediately taken by Monroe, and, with

the exception of a few houses, was given up to plunder. The castle held out for two days, but on the 3d of May it was surrendered to the British. In these battles the British troops retaliated with shocking severity upon the Irish, which greatly exasperated the rebels and increased their cruelty to the Protestants. After resting for two days at Newry, leaving a garrison under command of Lieutenant Colonel Sinclair and Major, afterwards Sir James Turner, Monroe marched to Armagh, hoping to surprise Sir Phelim O'Neill, but he having notice of his approach, and exasperated at the loss of Newry, set fire to Armagh, with its ancient cathedral, murdered a vast number of Protestant inhabitants and prisoners, and withdrew to Charlemont, most of his followers taking refuge in the bogs and mountains of Tyrone.

The Scots, returning from Newry to Carrickfergus, encountered, on the 8th of May, a storm of unparalleled severity, of which we have a graphic account in the diary of Major Turner, one of Monroe's officers, afterwards famous as a military persecutor of the Presbyterians in Scotland.

On Monroe's return to Carrickfergus he found waiting his arrival a messenger sent by sea from Derry, to acquaint him with the distressed situation of that city, and to entreat supplies of arms and ammunition. Sir Phelim O'Neill knowing their critical position, and that Monroe had returned to Carrickfergus, marched from Charlemont to Strabane, with the view of expelling the Protestants from Donegal and Tyrone, and, if possible, taking possession of Derry. But the Lagan forces, under the command of the two Stewarts, not only drove him back, and relieved several besieged

places in the county Derry, but recovered Strabane, thus in a great measure breaking the power of the rebels in the northwest of Ulster.

It appears from Monroe's correspondence with General Leslie, at Edinburgh, that the deficiency of his supplies not only hindered his assisting others, but diminished the efficiency of his own troops, some of whom he was compelled to quarter on the county. About the same time he received advances from the Earl of Antrim, one of the first movers in the rebellion, but who had withdrawn from it on the discovery of the plot at Dublin, and was negotiating with both parties at his castle of Dunluce. Here, on the one hand, he held secret interviews with O'Neill, and occasionally mingled with the insurgents, among whom his brother Alexander, afterwards the third Earl of Antrim, was a most influential leader; on the other hand, he professed sympathy with the plundered British, and officiously sought to relieve their distresses. Removing to another of his castles, at Glenarm, only twelve miles from Carrickfergus, he invited Monroe to meet him there, which he, knowing his double dealings, answered in June by marching thither with his forces and Sir John Clotworthy's regiment, but finding Antrim gone again to Dunluce, he burnt Glenarm, and proceeded to the north, where he was joined by new levies from Scotland, chiefly belonging to Argyle's regiment. With this increased force he returned to Dunluce, and compelled the Earl of Antrim to surrender, leaving his lieutenant colonel to command the castle. He placed his prisoner in Carrickfergus, at the same time garrisoning other forts which had belonged to Antrim with the soldiers of



Argyle, the hereditary foe of the Macdonnells, and after driving the rebels from the north of the country across the Bann, returned with great booty in cattle to his head-quarters.

Meantime O'Neill was joined by fugitives from Antrim, under the command of Colkitto, and knowing the distress of the Lagan forces, marched into Donegal to meet the Stewarts. Both parties met at Glenmackwin, near Raphoe, and after the severest conflict which had taken place in Ulster, the rebels were totally routed, with a loss, it is said, of five hundred men.

Soon after this decisive victory, Monro, with Conway, Montgomery and Claneboy, reëntered Armagh, took Dungannon, burnt O'Neill's own castle at Caledon, and laid seige to Charlemont, the only place of strength still possessed by the rebels in this part of the country, but they were compelled to raise the seige for want of ammunition and provisions, and return to Carrickfergus. While these advantages were gained by land, Sir John Clotworthy defeated the rebels in several skirmishes on Lough Neagh, the command of which had been intrusted to him by a special resolution of the English Commons. They authorized him to provide vessels for the defence of the Lough and its extensive line of coast, and to man them with a competent force, who were to be in the pay of the Parliament. He accordingly built a large vessel, called the Sydney, of about twenty tons burden, and furnished with six brass guns; and about a dozen smaller boats, carrying sixty men each, and capable of transporting a thousand men to any part of the Lough. These he placed under the command of his relative,

Captain Langford, and of Owen O' Connolly, before mentioned, who had returned with him from London, and upon whom he also conferred the command of a company in his regiment of foot.

While in this port, Colonel Clotworthy gained several important advantages over the rebels, driving them from certain intrenchments which they had formed upon the western side of the Lough, routing Sir Phelim O' Neill, with the loss of his Lieutenant Colonel, one of the O'Quins, several officers, and about sixty men, and breaking up an encampment of the rebels at Moneymore, where he saved the lives of one hundred and twenty English and Scotch prisoners, whom they were just preparing to murder. Sir John also erected a fort at Toome, upon the Bann, which gave him the command of that river, and enabled his regiment to make incursions at their pleasure into the county of Derry. To retaliate these inroads, the Irish garison at Charlemont also built several boats, in which they sailed down the Blackwater into the Lough, and plundered the coast in various directions. Several skirmishes occurred between these boats and those of Sir John Clotworthy, until finally they were entirely routed with a loss of sixty men, and their boats, with a large number of prisoners, were conveyed in triumph to Antrim. These vigorous proceedings restored partial peace to Ulster; the Papists despaired of resisting the British forces; and the rebel chiefs resolved to disband their followers and seek safety for themselves on the continent or in the Highlands of Scotland.

This cessation of hostilities, though partial and temporary, paved the way for the reëstablishment of re-

ligion. The Episcopal Church, which had been so intolerant in the hour of her prosperity, was now overthrown and desolate, and out of her ruins speedily arose the simpler fabric of Presbyterianism. Few of her clergy and not one of her prelates remained in the province. Her last bishop who withdrew was Leslie of Raphoe; after gallantly defending the Episcopal castle which he had erected, and relieving several besieged castles in the district, he retired to Scotland in the end of June, and thence to England, where he joined the royalists, and was made bishop of Clogher after the restoration. Few of the Protestant laity were conscientious prelatists. Even under the despotic sway of Strafford and the northern bishops, the reader has seen that little more than a reluctant and insincere conformity was effected by all their severities. When this oppressive constraint was removed, the majority did not hesitate to declare their approbation of the Scriptural forms of the Presbyterian church, while many who were in principle Episcopalians were at this critical conjuncture disposed to abandon that church, when they beheld its prelates and higher clergy in the sister kingdom opposed to the great cause of civil liberty. The number of those attached to Presbytery was still further increased by the return of the original Scottish settlers or their descendants. On these accounts, the great majority of the Protestants in Ulster were now decidedly in favor of Presbyterianism, and desirous that the rebuilding of the church in Ulster might proceed upon that Scriptural foundation.

The opening thus made was opportunely filled by the arrival of the troops from Scotland with their regi-



mental chaplains. By these prudent and zealous men the foundations of the Presbyterian Church were once more laid in Ulster. By their agency the Presbyterian Church assumed that regular and organized form which she still retains; and from this period the history of her ministers, her congregations, and her ecclesiastical courts, as they now exist, can be traced in uninterrupted succession. The doctrines taught by these brethren she still zealously inculcates and upholds; the forms of worship they introduced continue to be strictly observed, and the government and discipline they founded remain in all essential points unaltered at the present time. Of the ministers who were instrumental in rebuilding Presbyterianism in Ulster, Hugh Cunningham, Chaplain to Earl Glencairn's regiment; Thomas Peebles, to Eglinton's; John Baird, to Argyll's; James Simpson, to Sinclair's—settled in Ireland; while John Scott, Chaplain to Monro's own regiment, and John Aird, to Home's (or Lindsay's), seem to have returned to Scotland. The only other minister who is known to have accompanied the army is one with whose life and character the reader is already familiar, John Livingston, who was attached by order of the Scottish council to Sir John Clotworthy's regiment, in Antrim. He describes the religious state of Ulster as sadly changed since his removal, yet some few were in "a very lively condition."

The first step taken by these chaplains after the return of the army from Newry, and its settlement in quarters at Carrickfergus, was the erection of a session in each regiment, with the concurrence of the general and the colonels, choosing as elders godly officers, of whom there were many in the Scottish army. Having consti-

tuted sessions in four regiments then at headquarters, viz., Argyle's, Eglinton's, Glencairn's, and Home's, they organized a Presbytery at Carrickfergus on the 10th of June, 1642.

This meeting, memorable as the first regularly constituted Presbytery held in Ireland, was attended by five ministers, viz., Messrs. Cunningham, Baird, Peebles, Scott and Aird, (Mr. Simpson being at Newry with his regiment, and Livingston at Antrim,) and by four ruling elders from the four sessions already erected. Baird preached, by previous appointment, on Psalm 51, (from verse 18 to end.) Peebles was made clerk, and so continued nearly thirty years, until his death. Each minister produced his act of admission to his charge or regiment, in virtue of which he sat as a member of Presbytery; and the ruling elders, in like manner, submitted their commissions from their respective sessions. They authorized some of the brethren to confer with the colonels of those regiments in which there was as yet no sessions, in order that these courts might be forthwith constituted. They enjoined each minister to commence a regular course of examination and catechetical instruction in his regimental charge. They resolved to hold, for a time at least, weekly meetings, and to open each meeting with a discourse by one of the brethren, choosing as the subject of their Presbyterial exercises the book of Isaiah, and they concluded with appointing a fast to be observed the following week, in reference to the state of the Church in Germany, Bohemia, England and Ireland.

At this meeting they also wrote to Lords Claneboy and Montgomery to join them, with their regimental

chaplains. The answers from these noblemen, once the tools of Strafford, were most favorable, expressing their willingness to have their chaplains regularly tried and admitted as ministers to their respective regiments, which was soon after done by the Presbytery. These two noblemen did not long survive their junction with the Presbytery, both dying within a year.

Applications now poured in from the adjoining parishes for organization and supplies, which were granted, first, to Ballymena, Antrim, Cairncastle, Templepatrick, Carrickfergus, Larne and Belfast, in the county of Antrim ; and to Ballywater, Newtonards, Holywood, Bangor, Portaferry, Donaghadee, Killilagh and Comber, in the county of Down.

It was soon found that without assistance from Scotland, it would be impossible to afford all these places adequate supplies of preaching. Accordingly, the people agreed to petition the General Assembly for a supply of ministers ; and several of the parishes, where the brethren, now alive in Scotland, had officiated before the persecutions of Strafford and Leslie, desirous of obtaining once more the services of their beloved pastors, resolved to make special application to the Assembly to permit these ministers to accept of calls from Ireland. Accordingly, the parishes of Bangor and Ballywater sent a petition to the General Assembly, which met at St. Andrews in July, 1642, signed by forty-one heads of families, praying for the restoration of their old pastors, Baird and Hamilton.

Another and more general petition from the Presbyterians of Down and Antrim, signed by two hundred and twenty-five persons, was sent down at the same time, setting forth in affecting terms their distressed



condition and destitution of the divine ordinances. This petition was granted by the appointment of six ministers to spend a year in Ireland, each four months, and two by two. The three pair thus appointed were Blair of St. Andrews and Hamilton of Dumfries, Robert Ramsay of Glasgow and John M'Clelland of Kircudbright, Robert Baillie of Glasgow College and John Livingston of Stranraer.

## CHAPTER IX.

1642, 1643.

ACCORDING to the order of the General Assembly, Robert Blair and James Hamilton revisited Ulster in September, 1642, and having presented their commission, in conjunction with the Irish Assembly they proceeded to organize churches throughout the province. The seed which had been sown in former years now began to bear fruit. Great numbers flocked from different parts of the country, declaring their attachment to the Presbyterian Church and a wish that it might be established.

The Presbytery were not hasty in their action in organizing churches, but admitted none who did not heartily approve of the Presbyterian system, or were unable to state the reasons of their approbation. Whoever had been guilty of immoral conduct, or had taken the Black Oath or conformed to prelacy, were required to make public confession of their sin and profession of repentance. On these terms many of the Episcopal clergy were received as preachers, but not as members of the Presbytery till they had been called and installed in congregations. From a narrative of Mr. Blair we learn something of his proceedings during this visit. It was his custom to preach once each day and twice on the Sabbath, the gatherings being so large that he was often compelled to go into the fields. He

preached with great earnestness against those who had been led astray by their prelatical rulers, exhorting them to fly to God for reconciliation and pardon through Christ. Many old Christians declared that they had never heard the gospel so powerfully exhibited, nor the heart meltings among the people so great.

Mr. Hamilton was engaged in the same labors, and, by a singular Providence, Blair and Hamilton were now engaged for the *third time* in erecting Presbyterianism on the ruins of prelacy, having aided in the same work once before in Ireland and once in Scotland. It was some time before they could suppress the practices of private baptism and private marriages, and kneeling at the communion on the part of their converts from Episcopacy. But let it be observed that no efforts were made to enforce this upon any but those who had voluntarily adopted the Presbyterian system. They only desired that so long as any professed to be Presbyterians they should act consistently with that profession. They next attempted to put a stop to certain errors in reference to infant baptism and to some teachings tending to Antinomianism, which had been introduced by two Baptist preachers (Cornwall and Verner) at Antrim. They, in conjunction with the Presbytery, warned the people against them, and summoned these disturbers of the peace to appear and answer for their errors before the Presbytery, but they never came, and their opinions spread no further.

On the 27th of November the Presbytery appointed a public fast, in view of the distracted state of England, and the poverty, discouragement and sinfulness of the people and army, after which they proceeded to the ordination of two chaplains (John Drysdale and James



Baty, (who had been attached to the regiments of Claneboy and Montgomery,) to the pastoral charge of Portaferry and Ballywalter; Hamilton presiding at the ordination of his own successor, with a reservation of his own right by the people and Presbytery, "If God should clear his return to that place." The Assembly's visitors, having spent three months in Ireland, and reorganized the church in Down and Antrim, returned to Scotland near the close of the year, bearing an earnest request for additional supplies.

Meanwhile another Scotch force of four thousand men, under Leslie, Earl of Leven, having come over in August, the Presbytery directed them to provide themselves with chaplains, who were examined as they came, and some of them rejected. Among these was James Houston, who had been minister at Glasford, and was esteemed "a pious and very zealous young man," but for some grave offence he was deposed by the Presbytery of Hamilton; but being invited to become a chaplain, he was with that view restored by the Presbytery of Paisley, whereupon his former parishioners prayed that he might be restored to them, which petition was refused by them, but the case being brought before the Provincial Synod of Glasford, he was permitted to return; but on appeal to the General Assembly of 1642, Houston was not only rejected, but finally removed from the ministerial office.

In May, 1643, John Livingston came over, accompanied by James Blair of Portpatrick. Like their predecessors, they preached every day and twice upon the Sabbath, often in the open air, as no houses could contain the people. Livingston, in describing their labors, writes, "Usually I desired no more before I

went to bed, but to make sure of the place of Scripture I was to preach on the next day. And rising in the morning, I had four or five hours myself alone, either in a chamber or in the fields; after that we went to church, and then dined, and then rode five or six miles, more or less, to another parish. Sometimes there would be four or five communions in several places in the three months time."

After the return of Blair and Livingston, on account of the great scarcity of ministers, the Presbytery sent a commissioner, the Rev. John Scott, to the General Assembly, which sat in Edinburg in August, 1643, with a petition for additional supplies, which was seconded by a letter from Lord Montgomery, who afterwards became a persecutor of the Presbyterians. The petition, after speaking of their destitute condition, and their entire dependence upon the parent church, goes on to say:—"It is therefore our humble and earnest desire that you would yet again look on our former petition, and your own obligatory act, and at least declare your consent that a competent number of our own ministers may be loosed to settle here, and break bread to the children that lie fainting at the head of all streets; which, though it may be accounted but a restoring of what *we* have lost and *you* have found, we shall esteem it as the most precious gift that earth can afford. When they are so loosed, if they find not all things concurring to clear God's calling, it will be in their hand to forbear, and you have testified your bounty. But oh! for the Lord's sake do not kill our dying souls, by denying them our necessary desires. There are about twelve or fourteen congregations on this nearest coast; let us have at least a competent

number that may erect Christ's throne of discipline, and may help to bring in others; and then shall we sing, that the people who were left of the sword have found grace in the wilderness."

This petition, with the letter of Lord Montgomery, were referred to a committee, who reported that as Ireland was a dependency of England, nothing could be done until the English Parliament gave their consent that the ecclesiastical changes now proposed met with their approbation, and recommended that the state of the Irish church be referred to the Commission from the English Parliament. But in the present distress the standing commission of the church was directed to send over to Ireland "expectants" or probationers, who were to do all that they could to meet the exigency. A reply to the general petition, presented by Sir Robert Adair, was also drawn up and approved, in which they declined to lose any of their ministers, but they willingly made an appointment of ministers to visit Ulster in rotation till the next Assembly, two and two for three months as before. These were, from the 8th of September, 1643, William Cockburn of Kirkmichael and Mathew Mackaill of Carmanoch; from the 8th of December, George Hutchinson of Colmonel and Hugh Henderson of Dailly; from the 8th of March, 1644, William Adair of Ayr and John Weir of Dalserf; from the 8th of June, James Hamilton of Dumfries and John Maclelland of Kirkeudbright. These were commanded to visit the north of Ireland, and "instruct, comfort and encourage the scattered flocks of Christ."

This General Assembly whose proceedings we have been considering, is memorable as having involved the



Church of Scotland in the quarrel between King and Parliament.

The civil war had begun in England, Charles having raised his standard at Nottingham, August 25, 1642, and the Parliament an army, under the Earl of Essex. In the first campaign the parties were nearly balanced, but it was terminated on the approach of winter, with no advantage on either side; but in the spring of 1643, the King's army was victorious both in the north and in the south. The Parliament being thus placed in a very precarious situation, and civil and religious liberty greatly endangered, an appeal was made to Scotland for assistance. They represented the downfall of the Parliament as the destruction of all constitutional freedom, and to be followed by the subjugation of the Scottish nation and church, and, as an inducement, they held out hopes of Presbyterianism becoming the established religion throughout the empire. This was made more hopeful by the growing opposition to Episcopacy, and the feelings of the Long Parliament, which were evinced by the execution of Strafford and the impeachment of Laud; and the House of Commons was flooded with petitions against the hierarchy, as being opposed to all civil and religious freedom. Accordingly the Commons, early in 1641, voted to exclude the bishops from all legislative functions, but the bill was thrown out in the House of Lords.

Many plans for remodelling the church were unsuccessfully presented, the most remarkable of which was the scheme of Ussher, in which he professed to unite Prelacy and Presbytery, and which he called "the form of synodical government received in the

ancient church," which was nothing but a modified Episcopacy, which Charles and the great body of the bishops strongly opposed; but in February, 1642, a bill was passed preventing persons in holy orders from exercising temporal jurisdiction, and consequently excluding the bishops from Parliament. This bill was, after much hesitation, signed by the King, and in the following month notice was given by the Commons of their intention of calling an assembly of divines to assist them in reforming the abuses of the church.

The majority, both of the clergy and laity in England, were inclined at this time to Presbyterian purity and freedom, while the Parliament was mostly Erastian in sentiment, *i. e.*, regarded the church as the creature of the State, and therefore the wise magistrate could model the church without reference to the authority of the Scriptures.

The Church of Scotland having been reformed anew, and in a high state of efficiency, attracted the attention of the English at this junction, and induced a proposition from the Parliament to the Assembly, at St. Andrews, for joint and uniform reform. The Assembly, in their answer, took the ground that there can be no hope for tranquility until Episcopacy is abrogated, and a uniform government established throughout the empire, and as Episcopacy was almost universally acknowledged to be a human contrivance, it could therefore be more easily abolished, "without wronging any man's conscience." This was the beginning of a correspondence between the two kingdoms, which afterwards led to the most memorable results. The Scots had thus far not committed themselves to either side, but had endeavored to mediate

between them and effect a reconciliation; but this was found to be impossible, and the Parliament, by promising an extension of the Presbyterian system, prevailed, and the Scots espoused their cause, which eventually led to its triumph.

On the 1st of September the Commons, and on the 9th the House of Lords, concurred in an answer to the Assembly's letter. They express in this famous Declaration a desire for uniformity of religion throughout the kingdom; they condemn prelacy as leading to intolerable grievances, and as hostile to the wishes of the people, "upon which accounts," they say, "and many others, we declare that this government, by archbishops, bishops, their chancellors and commissaries, deans and chapters, archdeacons and other ecclesiastical officers depending upon the hierarchy, is evil and justly offensive and burdensome to the kingdom, a great impediment to reformation, and very prejudicial to the civil government, and that we are resolved the same shall be taken away." This was carried into effect by act of Parliament in January, but never received the assent of the king, whose successes about this time making the aid of Scotland indispensable to his opponents, they proceeded, without waiting for the royal concurrence, to pass this ordinance, and also one convoking an assembly of divines, to meet at Westminster, and aid them in settling such a government in the church "as may be agreeable to God's holy word, and bring (us) into nearer agreement with the church of Scotland and other reformed churches abroad."

Though forbidden by royal proclamation, this celebrated Assembly met, on Saturday, July 1st, 1643. It was merely advisory, without ecclesiastical author-



ity, consisting of one hundred and twenty divines, among whom were Joshua Hoyle, D. D., for many years professor of divinity in Trinity College, Dublin, and afterwards at Oxford, and Thomas Temple, D. D., formerly fellow of that college, but for some years settled at Battersea, near London. Among the lay assessors (two lords and twenty commoners) was Sir John Clotworthy, of Antrim, who has been so often mentioned.

Commissioners were now sent to Scotland to the Scottish Parliament, and to the General Assembly, to negotiate a civil league between the kingdoms ; but the Scots insisting on a religious covenant, the two things were combined, and the alliance styled "The Solemn League and Covenant," was the result. It included an agreement that the Church of England should be reformed, "according to the word of God, and the example of the best reformed churches," the details being left to the Assembly of Divines, to which commissioners from the Church of Scotland were now added. On the 17th of August it was introduced into the Assembly, with great rejoicing. Baillie, in describing its reception, writes, "In the which at the first reading, being well prefaced with Mr. Henderson's most grave oration, it was received with the greatest applause that ever I saw anything, with so hearty affections expressed in the tears of piety and joy, by very many grave, wise, and old men." The same day the Scottish Parliament adopted it, and was by them referred to a joint committee of their own body and of the Westminster Assembly, "to the intent that some expressions might be further explained, *and that the kingdom of Ireland also might be expressly taken into the same league's covenant.*"

These amendments being made, it was finally approved by the Commons, and publicly sworn to, with religious services in St. Margaret's Church, Westminster, September 25th. At that meeting the Rev. Philip Nye read it from the pulpit, article by article, each person standing uncovered, with his right hand lifted up bare to heaven, worshipping the great name of God, and swearing to the performance of it. Dr. Gouge concluded with prayer, after which the Commons went up into the chancel, and subscribed their names in one roll of parchment, and the Assembly in another, each of which contained a copy of the Covenant. Two hundred and twenty-eight members of the Commons signed, among whom was Oliver Cromwell. On the 15th of October it was approved by the Lords, with the same solemnity, after which it was ordered to be taken by all persons above eighteen years of age, under pain of being punished as enemies to religion and the public peace. Copies were sent for this purpose to every minister and every military commander in the service of the Parliament. The same course was pursued in Scotland, and copies were sent to the moderators of the Presbyteries, with directions to read and explain the Covenant the first Sunday after the receipt thereof, and on the Sunday following to cause all to sign it and swear to perform it, under pain of "the Church censures, and confiscation of goods presently to be inflicted on all refusers."

This bond of union was refused by none except the violent partisans of Charles, and thus it ascertained and united all the friends of liberty and true religion throughout the kingdom. If the Covenant had been only a civil league it would not have accomplished the

purpose intended ; but being both a civil and religious test, and a civil and religious bond, it fully met the end. Diversities of opinion have existed as to the expediency of this measure, but it should be remembered that religious and civil affairs were so intimately connected that what affected one affected the other. It was not then as it is now, that men of almost any creed and church constitute the same political party, or that men united in the fellowship of the same church are found to entertain opposite political sentiments. At this day, therefore, such a plan would be entirely unsuitable for the purpose of advancing a reformation ; but then the Covenant was, “for the matter of it, just and warrantable ; for the ends necessary and commendable ; and for the times seasonable.”

The publication of the Covenant raised and sustained such a spirit as led to the most important results.



## CHAPTER X.

1642-1644.

As Ireland was included in this solemn compact, it was immediately sent over to that country, where important changes had been taking place. The hopes of the native rebels, crushed by the successes of the Stewarts and of Monro, were revived by the appearance of a new leader, Owen Roe O'Neill, a kinsman of Sir Phelim, and distinguished in the Spanish and Imperial service. He landed at Doe Castle, in the county of Donegal, in the month of July, 1642, and being chosen as leader of the northern Irish, he immediately denounced the savage warfare of his predecessors as a disgrace upon the name and the religion of the Irish, and punished some of the most notorious murderers. Bringing with him able and experienced officers, and well supplied with ordnance and stores from France, he was prepared to cope with the Protestant forces.

Before his arrival measures had been taken to give more vigor and an appearance of legality to the proceedings of the Irish rebels, by a formal confederation of the Irish Roman Catholics, sanctioned by a synod of their bishops and clergy at Kilkenny in May, 1642. In October of the same year a convention of clerical and lay delegates assembled in the same place, and, without the name, assumed the power of a Parliament, restoring the Church of Rome to all her former rights and immunities "as guaranteed by Magna Charta,"

acknowledging the English common law and Irish statutes only so far as they were consistent with these rights of the church; disowning the Lords Justices but acknowledging the King, yet inconsistently performing acts of sovereignty by coining money, levying taxes, and sending embassies to foreign powers. They transferred the ecclesiastical possessions of the kingdom from the Church of England to the Church of Rome; committed the executive power to a council of twenty-four, and prescribed an "oath of association," binding all who took it never to make peace without the consent of the General Assembly, and in any peace which might be made "to the utmost of their power to insist upon and maintain the ensuing propositions:—

"I. That the Roman Catholics, both clergy and laity, have free and public exercise of the Roman Catholic religion and function throughout the kingdom, in as full lustre and splendor as it was in the reign of King Henry the Seventh.

"II. That the secular clergy of Ireland, viz., primates, archbishops, bishops, ordinaries, deans, deans and chapters, archdeacons, prebendaries and other dignitaries, parsons, vicars, and all other pastors of the secular clergy, shall enjoy all manner of jurisdiction, privileges, immunities, in as full and ample a manner as was enjoyed within this realm during the reign of the late Henry the Seventh.

"III. That all laws and statutes made since the twentieth year of King Henry the Eighth, whereby any restraint, penalty, or restriction is laid on the free exercise of the Roman Catholic religion within this kingdom may be repealed and declared void by one or more acts of Parliament.

“IV. That all primates, archbishops, bishops, deans, etc., shall hold and enjoy all of the churches and church livings in as large and ample a manner as the late Protestant clergy respectively enjoyed the same on the 1st day of October, 1641, together with all the profits, emoluments, perquisites, liberties, and rights to their respective sees and churches.”

This convention remained in session until January, 1643, when it was dissolved, the administration of affairs being committed to the Supreme Council. Generals were now appointed for each Province, Owen O'Neill taking command of Ulster, and active measures for carrying on the war adopted. Negotiations were opened with the King, who was anxious to obtain help from Ireland against the Parliament and Scots; and to expedite this business he appointed the Earl of Ormond and other gentlemen in whom he confided to treat with the Supreme Council. The first attempt of this commission at negotiation failed through the influence of the Lords Justices and the Irish Privy Council, the majority of whom were friends of the Parliament. Ormond, in order to accomplish his purpose, first removed and then imprisoned Sir William Parsons, one of the Lords Justices, as standing in the way of an agreement, and appointed Sir Henry Tichborne in his place. He was now in a more favorable position to renew his negotiation, and after rejecting with contempt the first extravagant proposals of the Irish, he at length made a treaty, securing to them all the castles, towns, and churches in that part of the kingdom then possessed by them, and in return the Roman Catholics agreeing to pay thirty thousand pounds as a subsidy and an immediate reinforcement



of ten regiments, which were actually sent before the close of the year, but without advantage to the royal cause, the greater part being killed or made prisoners by Fairfax, the Parliamentary general, and the rest were soon after slain at the siege of Gloucester; while the treaty with the Irish chiefs increased the King's unpopularity, and strengthened the suspicion of his popish inclinations or subjection to popish influence.

The "Cessation" (of hostilities), with its conditions, was immediately condemned by Parliament, and in a public declaration stated their objections; many royalists also were so offended that they at once abandoned the cause. The news of the Cessation came to London at the same time with the Solemn League and Covenant, and caused a more unanimous agreement in that measure. It was still more indignantly condemned in Scotland, and in Ulster, where the Protestant ascendancy was still maintained by the Stewarts, with their associates. Sir William Stewart, after his victory near Raphoe, notwithstanding the rigor of the winter and the inaccessible character of the country, followed up the rebels to the remotest part of Donegal, and in the spring, sustained by his brother, Sir Robert, with Colonel Mervyn, Sir Thomas Staples and others, he was successful in dispersing them in Donegal, Derry and Tyrone. In the northeast of the province the same activity prevailed. O'Neill had during the winter laid siege to the fort of Mountjoy on Lough Neagh, which was garrisoned by Sir John Clotworthy's regiment, under the command of Colonel James Clotworthy, and had cut off all communication with the county Derry across the river Bann. The first movement in the spring was made by the boats of Sir John Clotworthy,

under Captain Langford, to dislodge the rebels from the islands of Lough Beg. Assisted by Major Ellis, the insurgents were attacked, and after a severe encounter, in which Captain Owen O' Connolly was shot in the arm, they were forced to retire to Charlemont and Dungannon.

In order to dislodge the rebels from these strongholds, Monro took the field in May 1643, with about two thousand troops, sending to Lord Sinclair, who was then quartered at Newry, for a detachment of musketeers. At Loughall, near Armagh, they met General O' Neill, and after a severe conflict of about an hour, with loss on both sides, O' Neill retreated to Charlemont. The next day, gathering together their scattered forces, they marched to Tandragee, where Sir James Lochart was mortally wounded in a skirmish and died the next day. Although failing in the great object of their expedition, the capture of O' Niell, by a happy accident the Earl of Antrim was again seized and placed at Carrickfergus. The capture occurred in this manner: Soon after the return of the forces of Monro to their quarters, as Colonel Home's regiment and Major Ballentine's troop were employed in besieging the fort at Newcastle in the county of Down, they observed a person landing under suspicious circumstances from a small vessel on the coast. They immediately seized him, and having threatened him with instant death if he did not discover himself, he confessed that he was the confidential servant of the Earl of Antrim, who by his assistance had escaped from Carrickfergus about a year before; that his master was in the vessel on his way to join O' Neill at Charlemont, and that he had been sent on shore to make arrange-

ments for his safe landing. The servant, whose name was Stewart, being compelled to make the concerted signal to Antrim, the Earl put ashore, but was immediately taken prisoner and carried to Monro. Important papers, implicating the King, were found upon his person, which were forwarded to Edinburg.

The failure of Monro to pursue his successes in Armagh arose from the scarcity of supplies and the consequent suffering of his troops from their first arrival in Ireland. Turner, in his "Memoirs" of this campaign, writes, "I fingered no pay the whole time I staid in Ireland, (nearly three years,) except for three months." And in another place he says, "we had meal so sparingly seldom we could allow our soldiers above a pound."

In June, 1643, the British regiments from Down and Antrim, under the command of Lords Conway, Ards, and Claneboy, and Colonels Chichester and James Montgomery, traversed Monaghan and Armagh, pillaging the country and driving O' Neill before them into the jaws of the Lagan forces under Sir Robert Stewart, who routed him at Clones with great loss, most of his forces being taken, and the foreign officers who came with Owen Roe O' Neill being mostly either killed or prisoners, though the want of supplies prevented vigorous pursuit. The losses of the rebels in this action were greater than they had met with before. These successes would soon have put an end to the rebellion, but for the effect of Ormond's "Cessation" in removing the English regiments from Leinster, and thus depriving them of their coöperation. By this measure the Protestant cause was seriously weakened, and the Romanists greatly encouraged. When, there-



fore, by the terms of the Cessation the Protestants of Ulster found that the rebels were not only unpunished for their outrages, but secured in the possession of their castles, towns and estates, acquired by the massacre of their owners—when they saw the Popish priests supplanting their ministers, and holding the ecclesiastical property, they were alarmed and indignant; and this threatened restoration of Popery increased the opposition of the Protestants in Ulster to that treaty, and prepared them to receive more cordially the Solemn League and Covenant, which was at this juncture brought over to Ireland by Owen O'Connolly.

The Lords Justices and Ormond determined, if possible, to prevent the taking of the Covenant in Ireland, and for this purpose Monro and the British colonels were charged to prevent its being tendered to the soldiers under their command; and accordingly, on the 18th December, a proclamation was issued from the Lords Justices, which was to be read at the head of every regiment, denouncing the Covenant as a seditious and treasonable league, and forbidding the soldiers to sign it. This command was disregarded by Monro and the colonels, and on the 2d of January Lord Montgomery, Sir Robert Stewart, Sir James Montgomery, Sir William Cole, Colonels Chichester, Hill and Mervyn, wrote a joint letter to Parliament, condemning the Cessation, though it is alleged that at the same time they had agreed secretly among themselves to oppose the Covenant, and to obey Ormond, now Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

The Scotch forces were becoming very restive in Ulster, suffering extremely from the want of provisions, although the English commissioners, in answer to

several urgent entreaties of Monro, had promised them their back pay, with an abundant supply of clothing, food, arms and ammunition. The distress finally became so great, that Monro was compelled to abandon the strong posts of Newry, Mountjoy and Dungannon, with some forts on the river Bann, held by the Scots. The English Parliament, having drawn upon the Scotch army, according to the league, for assistance, it became necessary to recall a part of the army for the defence of Scotland ; and so desirous were the regiments to leave, that it was decided by lot which should first embark, and the regiments of Sinclair, Lowdon, and Campbell were designated. On the very eve of sailing they entered into a mutual engagement neither to disband nor to obey any superior officer until they had received their promised arrears ; and if their terms were not complied with, would join the royal party. This engagement was denounced by the Presbytery as "ambiguous, scandalous, devisive, and against the Covenantant."

The Presbyterians were very desirous that the Scotch army might remain in Ireland, and on first hearing of its recall sent over Sir Frederick Hamilton with a petition that the order might be rescinded. The British regiments in the Lagan, and in Down and Antrim, hearing that the removal of the Scots would give a preponderance to the royalist and Romish party in Ulster, also sent a deputation (Captain Owen O'Connolly and Captain Robert Magill) to Edinburgh, requesting that the Scottish forces might remain, and asking permission to subscribe the Solemn League and Covenant.

While these negotiations were in progress in Scotland, the settlers in Ulster were in consternation lest



Ormond should reenact some of the severities which they had experienced under Strafford and the prelates ; and so extensive was this fear that the farmers, especially in the county Down, refused to sow their fields, intending to abandon the county so soon as the Scottish forces had withdrawn. These fears were in a measure allayed by the assurance of the British colonels that they would use every exertion to prevent their departure. They were not kept long in suspense, for on the 22d of February the order for the removal of the Scots was countermanded, and soon after Sir Frederick Hamilton and Sir Mungo Campbell were sent back to Ireland with the news that supplies would be forthcoming, with instructions to persuade the British regiments to unite with them in prosecuting the war.

This pacified the Scottish forces, but the three regiments on shipboard could not be induced to stay ; but Monro prevailed upon the rest to resume their former quarters. In the month of March a vessel arrived at Carrickfergus with ten thousand pounds in money, and a large supply of meal and clothing. Similar donations were sent from the Clyde to Derry, one half for the use of the Lagan forces. And shortly after a supply from the shire of Ayr was sent as a free gift to the army at Carrickfergus. Besides these supplies from Scotland, not less than four vessels arrived in different ports in Ulster, bringing gifts from Holland, occasioned by a letter from the Westminster Assembly to the classes there, and a commission which was sent by Parliament to collect the contributions taken up in all their churches, and those that had been generously offered by some Dutch towns early in the previous summer.

On the 16th of October, 1643, the English Parlia-



ment requested the commissioners from Scotland to take steps for the signing of the Covenant by the Scots in Ireland, at the same time pledging themselves that English Protestants there should do the same. After some correspondence with the Scottish Parliament, as to the manner of taking the Covenant, the matter was referred to the committee of both nations, sitting in London, and by them sent to the commission of the Scotch Assembly, who finally intrusted it to the ministers whose turn it was to visit Ireland. These were James Hamilton of Dumfries (formerly of Ballywalter), Hugh Henderson of Dalry in Ayrshire, William Adair of Ayr, and John Weir of Dalserf in Lanarkshire. A letter to the same effect was brought from the Parliament by Major Borthwick, of Lord Lindsay's regiment, to the officers of the Scottish army. In this letter they leave the time of taking the Covenant to the discretion of the officers, but suggest that the sooner it is done the better, as a means of restoring confidence throughout the kingdom.

Hamilton and his colleagues reached Carrickfergus in the end of March, and entered immediately upon their work. On the 4th of April they met the Presbytery, showing their commissions, and also a letter from the General Assembly, directing the ministers of the Scotch forces to administer the Covenant to the army. This was accordingly done, all the soldiers cheerfully signing it with the exception of Major Dalzel, afterwards a General, and a most bitter persecutor of the Presbyterians in the reign of Charles the Second. Although the ministers had no commission except for the army, yet when the Covenant was administered the whole population, with a few exceptions, came of their

own accord and signed the instrument. Those who had formerly taken the Black Oath were required before signing to make a public declaration of their penitence. Mr. Weir states that at Carrickfergus there were four hundred who renounced the Black Oath and took the Covenant. Wherever it was presented the people appeared to be greatly affected, some with sorrow on account of their former sins and miseries, and some with joyful hope for the future; so that Adair, from whose narrative these facts are taken, says, "The solemnity and spirituality of carrying on this work was like the cloud filling the temple, there being a new tabernacle erecting in the land. And those who had not seen these things before, nor were well acquainted with them, said (as the people in Christ's time) 'we have seen strange things to-day.' Yea, even the malignants who were opposed to the Covenant durst not appear to the contrary; for the people generally held these ministers as servants of God, and coming with a blessed message and errand to them."

Having completed their work in Down and parts of Antrim, the ministers passed on to Coleraine and the Route, two of them first visiting Ballymena. At Coleraine a great multitude flocked to the church from town and country, when the commissioners explained the Solemn League and Covenant, and the first person who took the oath was the minister of the town, Mr. Vesey, who had formerly taken the Black Oath, and who afterwards relapsed and became Archbishop of Tuam.

Some resistance was experienced at Coleraine from Colonel Mervyn and others, but still greater at Derry, where the deputation was forbidden to come at their

peril. But believing that they were acting under Divine guidance, and finding a friend in Sir Frederick Hamilton, they entered the town, when they were told by Sir Frederick that by their prompt action they had escaped a violent reception, which had been prepared for them. The day after their arrival they were visited by the Mayor and Aldermen, and after various altercations they administered the oath to a great multitude. From Derry they proceeded to Raphoe, where the whole of Sir Robert Stewart's regiment took the Covenant, except himself; and from thence to Letterkenny, where it was administered to Sir William Stewart's regiment. Thence to Taboim and Ramelton. In all these places great multitudes besides the soldiers gathered together to hear the ministers and to receive the Covenant.

On their return to Derry, several of the chief opponents came to hear them preach and explain the Covenant, by which means, and through influence from higher quarters, most of them were brought to take it, not excepting Thornton, the Mayor, and Colonel Mervyn at Derry, Sir Robert Stewart at Coleraine, and Sir William Cole at Carrickfergus. They then returned to Down and Antrim, and administered the communion at Newtownards, Holywood and Ballywalter, assisted by Maclelland of Kirkcudbright, by appointment of the General Assembly; and in July of this year a church was regularly organized at Belfast.

The Solemn League and Covenant, thus introduced without coercion, and with scrupulous regard to the rights of conscience, had the happiest effect throughout Ulster. The friends of civil and religious liberty were ascertained and united, and a strong feeling of



attachment to the Presbyterian cause was excited throughout the county. Through its influence Presbyterianism was reëstablished at points where it had formerly been uprooted, and what is of still higher moment, it raised the spirit of true religion and piety, which had almost died out under the persecutions of the prelates and the barbarities of the rebellion. From this period is dated the SECOND REFORMATION in Ireland, in which churches and zealous ministers greatly increased, and the manners and habits of the people were manifestly improved.

## CHAPTER XI.

1644, 1645.

WHILE Hamilton was in Ireland, fulfilling the duties of his commission, he labored chiefly in the county Down, and paid particular attention to his old parish, Ballywalter. Before leaving Ulster he presided at a meeting of the Presbytery held at Bangor, in May, 1644, where a third petition to the General Assembly was adopted, representing a district of fifty miles in length by twelve in breadth, containing four and twenty congregations, and supplied with only two settled ministers, besides three army chaplains and the temporary Scotch commissions. In answer to this petition, the Assembly, as before, appointed three pairs of ministers to visit Ireland, each for four months, beginning with the first of August, 1644. These were Cockburn of Kirkmichael and McKail of Irvine; George Dick of Glenluce and John Dick of Inch; Livingston of Stranraer and Wylie of Borg. The same Assembly, at the request of the Presbyterians of Ulster, sent a Latin letter of thanks to the church of Holland for their liberal contributions to the sufferers in Ireland, which had amounted to ten or twelve shiploads of clothing and provisions, valued at more than twenty thousand pounds. A vote of thanks was also sent from the Westminster Assembly, at the request of the English Parliament. Meantime the Scottish commissioners, sent over to administer the

Covenant in Ireland, had set sail homeward, but were taken prisoners by a frigate which was conveying troops to Scotland, under the command of Colkitto or Alaster Macdonnel. The Earl of Antrim, having escaped from the castle of Carrickfergus, by the aid of his son-in-law, Lieutenant Gordon, who conveyed ropes to him concealed in his dress, hastened to join O'Neill at Charlemont, then the confederates at Kilkenny, and finally the King at Oxford, to whom he opened his plan of raising the Scottish Highlands under Montrose, and joining with them certain Irish troops which had served in Flanders, whose community of language would enable them to coöperate more readily. The first draught or detachment of this force was on its way to Scotland in three vessels, with the escort of a frigate, under the command of Alaster Macdonnel, when they fell in with the ship in which the Scotch commissioners were embarked, and took from it seven or eight persons, among whom were John Weir and his wife, Hamilton and his father-in-law Watson, an Irish minister named Johnson, and three laymen. Macdonnel's purpose was to exchange Watson, who was Lord Claneboy's nephew, for his own father, old Colkitto, who was in the hands of Argyle; but the latter could not be persuaded to consent to the exchange. The prisoners were confined in Mingarie castle, where their sufferings were aggravated by an unsuccessful attack of Argyle. All were soon discharged, except Weir, Watson and Hamilton; the first died in October, worn out with sufferings, the second in March, and the third was released in May, 1645, after a captivity of ten months, during the early part of which Weir and Hamilton expounded eighty-



one psalms in order, in the hearing of their fellow prisoners.

In the meantime the English Parliament had placed the British forces in Ireland under General Leslie, now Earl of Leven, who appointed as commander-in-chief under him Major General Monro, already at the head of the Scottish troops in Ulster. This movement greatly weakened the strength of the royalist party, as their main dependence was in these British regiments, and it gave great offense to Arthur Chichester and other English colonels. Chichester had been a steady supporter of Charles, in opposition to the Parliament, and had acquiesced cordially in the "Cessation." He had fortified Belfast at Ormond's suggestion, and refused to permit the Covenant to be administered there; even going so far as to attempt the administration of a counter-oath to the soldiers and inhabitants. When, therefore, he received notice of the appointment of Monro to the chief command, he called a meeting of British colonels, to form some plan for opposing the Scottish commander. Notice of this meeting being carried to Monro, he resolved to take this opportunity of recovering Belfast. In the meantime the British colonels had met and adjourned till the next morning, when notice of Monro's intended attack was brought to them by a soldier of Colonel Chichester's regiment. The guards were immediately doubled and every officer ordered upon duty, and scouts were sent out toward Carrickfergus to reconnoitre. About six o'clock in the morning they returned, reporting that no enemy was in sight, when all the guards but the ordinary watch were discharged. In about an hour Monro surprised the town through the

treachery of these scouts, who, meeting him, were sent back with the false intelligence that no enemy was in sight.

This decision of Monro intimidated the British colonels, and without further delay they submitted to his command on condition that they should not be required to take any oath until they had laid their scruples before the English Parliament, and that they should be on the same footing with the Scottish regiments in relation to supplies. By this union the friends of Ormond and the Cessation lost much of their influence in Ulster.

The united forces of the British regiments, under Lords Montgomery and Claneboy and Sir James Montgomery, and the Scottish regiments, under General Monro, Lord Lindsay, Colonels Home and Montgomery, took the field on the 27th of June, and on the 30th were joined at Armagh by Colonel Hill's regiment, commanded by Major George Rawdon, and Lord Conway's troop and regiment of foot, and a few days after by reinforcements from Argyle and Glencairn, with several companies of Sir John Clotworthy's regiment under Owen Connolly, now a major; and to these were finally added the Lagan forces, amounting in the whole to one thousand horse and ten thousand foot. They were now concentrated at Armagh, for the purpose of driving the Irish out of the province of Ulster. This army was poorly equipped, and with but a few days' supply of provisions. On the 4th of July they left Armagh, passing through the counties of Monaghan and Cavan, meeting with but little resistance from the Irish; but their provisions failing them, and the Lagan forces retiring, on the 15th of July the

expedition was broken up and the regiments retired to their quarters in Down and Antrim.

The Confederate Council at Kilkenny, alarmed at the strength of the Protestant party, sent forward Lord Castlehaven to reinforce O'Neill, who entered Tandragee without opposition. Intelligence reaching Monro of the approach of the Irish, he gathered a force to withstand them, but Castlehaven, distressed for want of provisions, suddenly broke up his camp and retired by forced marches to Clones and thence to Cavan. He was pursued by Monro, who, being unable to bring him to an engagement, returned in October to Ulster.

After Lord Castlehaven had been dispatched to Ulster, the Irish chiefs made overtures to Ormond to unite with them against the northern Protestants, and sent commissioners to treat with Charles himself at Oxford ; here they met commissioners from the Protestant party in Ireland, remonstrating against the demands of the confederates. Charles dismissed the Romish commissioners, with liberal but ambiguous assurances, and issued a commission to Ormond, authorizing him to conclude a peace with the Irish chiefs as he should deem most advantageous to the royal cause. Accordingly, in the beginning of September, Ormond met the confederate commissioners, and took under consideration propositions which were made by both parties ; but wishing to lay the whole matter before the King, he adjourned the meeting till April, 1645.

While these proceedings were in progress, another negotiation had commenced in England between Charles and the Parliament at Uxbridge, which materially affected the final action of the one now pend-



ing in Ireland. These negotiations were limited to twenty days and to the consideration of three topics, two of which were religion and Ireland. This commission met on the 30th of January, 1645, and took up the first of these topics, the discussion of which was much impeded by the condemnation of Archbishop Laud. In February, 1640, he had been committed to prison on the charge of high treason, and in the month of February following Sir Henry Vane had, in the name of the Commons of England, preferred fourteen articles of impeachment against him, to which others were afterwards added by the commissioners from Scotland.

And here it rested until October, 1643, when, additional charges being entered, he was brought to trial in March, 1644, before the House of Lords, and after an investigation occupying twenty days, the mode of proceeding by impeachment, as in the case of Strafford, was put aside, and by a resolution of the House a bill of attainder was brought in, and on the 4th of January, 1645, it finally passed, and six days after Laud was beheaded on Tower Hill, in the seventy-second year of his age. This occurred a few weeks previous to the meeting of the commissioners at Uxbridge, and caused some embarrassment in their negotiations. On the very day before Laud was condemned the Common Prayer Book was abolished by law throughout England, and the Westminster Directory for public worship substituted for it. During this same period the Assembly had been preparing a plan for the government of the church according to the Solemn League and Covenant, in which they were opposed by certain Independents, who published their "Apologetical

Narration" in February, 1644, which was their first appearance in history as a distinct party, and received the name of the Dissenting Brethren. This pamphlet contained a plausible appeal to Parliament in favor of Independency, setting forth its peculiar advantages and its distinguishing principles, but not a word is said about their hostility to endowments and to the magistrates' power, *circa sacra*, which is now-a-days assumed as having been characteristic of this sect from its commencement; indeed, in one place, speaking of the magistrates' power, the following significant parenthesis is inserted: "to which we give as much, and, as we think, more than the principles of the presbyterial government will suffer them to yield." In consequence of the opposition of these men the Assembly made but little progress in their work of fixing the church government.

The commissioners of the Parliament at Uxbridge had been instructed to require, as indispensable to the treaty, the consent of the King to the ordinances for abolishing prelacy,—convoking the Westminster Assembly,—enforcing the Solemn League and Covenant, and substituting the Directory in place of the Prayer Book. They also insisted upon the Westminster Assembly's plan of church government, as agreed to by Parliament, to form a part of the treaty. To all of these the royal commissioners gave a decided negative, and after a discussion, occupying two days, led by the Rev. Alexander Henderson on behalf of the Scottish commissioners, and Dr. Steward on behalf of the King, they failed to arrive at any satisfactory result. The same was the case in respect to Ireland. The commissioners proposed that the King should unite with them

in declaring the "Cessation" to be void and that the war against the Irish rebels should be carried on; but Charles, anticipating great assistance from the Irish Romanists, refused to make any concessions, and the prescribed time having expired, the commission was broken up and both parties prepared to renew the war.

The King now authorized the Earl of Glamorgan, a zealous Roman Catholic, to treat with that party, and to promise the legal restoration of their church, as a recompense for their assistance in his conflict with the English Parliament. This treaty being secret, Ormond still continued his negotiations with the Irish confederates, but refused to declare the Scots of Ulster rebels, choosing rather to conciliate them, in which he was favored by their discontents, arising from privation and arrears of pay, and also from the growing power of the Independents, as displayed in the famous self-denying ordinance of 1645, and confirmed by Cromwell's victory at Naseby, in June of the same year.

But the Parliament, alarmed at the appearance of disaffection, resolved, in May, to raise ten thousand pounds and other supplies for their auxiliaries in Ulster. They also sent commissioners to inquire into the state of the army, and the means of prosecuting the war more vigorously. These commissioners were to use every method to remove the prejudices from the minds of the Scots, arising from the supposed opposition of the Parliament to Presbyterianism, and by regaining their confidence prevent them from uniting with the Royalists under Ormond.

The news of the appointment reaching Ulster, the



British officers called a meeting on the 17th of May, and formed a military union, with an oath prescribed; which some refusing to take referred the matter to the Presbytery, who issued a declaration to be read in every regiment, but not now in existence, though it seems to have been directed against any movement hostile to the Covenant. In consequence of this the officers renewed the declaration of their allegiance to that compact, and of their determination to prosecute the war until an honorable peace should be obtained.

In proof of their sincerity, the British forces, numbering four thousand foot and six hundred horse, under command of Sir Robert Stewart, marched into Connaught and made an assault upon Sligo, which was soon surrendered by O'Connor, the commander; after which they invaded Mayo and Galway, the strongholds of the rebels, leaving Sligo in command of Lieutenant Colonel Galbraith. During their absence the Irish hastily collected their forces, and, led by the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Tuam, reëntered Sligo and seized the church and the abby, and were about attacking the castle, when they were surprised by a body of horse, under Sir Charles Coote and Sir Frederick Hamilton, taking many prisoners and killing the Archbishop. Among his baggage was found, with other important papers, a copy of Glamorgan's secret treaty with the Irish chiefs, which was immediately published, showing the King's complicity with the Popish party. This discovery alienated for ever the northern Scots from the cause of Charles, and destroyed the scheme which Ormond had formed, by which he hoped to attach them to the royalist party.

Soon after this seasonable discovery, the commis-

sioners of Parliament, Sir Robert King, Arthur Annesley and Colonel Beal, arrived in Ulster, and to gain the confidence of the Scots they coöperated with the Presbyterians, enjoined the people to take the Covenant, and sanctioned all the proceedings of the Presbytery. The arrival of this commission, therefore, proved to be of the greatest advantage to the prosperity and extension of the Church.

During this period the Presbytery had been very faithful in enforcing discipline, as well as in opposing the Independents and the Baptists, who had made some inroads in Belfast, through the efforts of one Matthew Lees.

When Cockburn and M'Kail, the first pair of commissioners from the Scotch Assembly, arrived in Ireland, they found the Presbytery troubled by a singular proceeding on the part of some Episcopal clergymen, in the Route, who had conformed to the Presbyterian system, and who now organized a Presbytery of their own, but without ruling elders or subordination to church judicatories. They held no correspondence with the Presbytery which sat regularly at Carrickfergus, but used every method to destroy its influence and authority in the country, their whole object being to deceive the people with the name of Presbytery, until a favorable opportunity would arrive for throwing off the mask and proclaiming prelacy.

Under the direction of the Scottish commissioners, the Presbytery wrote them a letter, asking the number of members and their authority for forming themselves into a Presbytery. In answer to this letter they sent Mr. Daniel M'Neill and Mr. Fenton, with a letter signed by the moderator and clerk, to the next meet-

ing of the Presbytery. Not satisfied with this letter or the report of these commissioners, they were summoned to appear at the next meeting of Presbytery, when most of them answering the summons, and being interrogated, refused to submit to its authority, until they exhibited their commission from the English Parliament or the Westminster Assembly, which being done, they submitted themselves to the Army Presbytery, as it was still called. That body, besides holding frequent days of humiliation, on account of the troubles in the three kingdoms, sent two delegates to the General Assembly of 1645, to ask advice on certain points of discipline, and also to obtain a new supply of ministers.



## CHAPTER XII.

1645, 1646.

The General Assembly of January, 1645, specially called before the usual time to consider the Westminster Directory and Form of Government, was attended by the Rev. John Drysdale and Captain James Wallace (of Argyle's regiment) as commissioners from the "Army Presbytery," who presented, besides the usual petition for a supply of ministers for Ulster, one from General Monro, asking for a chaplain for his regiment at Carrickfergus, and several from Londonderry and the surrounding districts of Derry and Donegal, asking that these populous Presbyterian settlements might also be supplied.

In answer to the first of these petitions, the Assembly, for the fourth time, appointed certain ministers to spend three months there in rotation, among whom was Henry Colwort, formerly of Oldstone, now of Paisley. Their commission directed them "to repair unto the north of Ireland, and there to visit, comfort, instruct and encourage the scattered flocks of Christ, according to the direction of Jesus Christ, and according to the doctrine and discipline of this church in all things." They also directed a suitable chaplain to be procured for Monro's regiment, and sent him a letter sympathizing in his trials and giving him assurance of their continued confidence in his zeal for the church. Mr. James Nasmyth, having been appointed in 1644 chaplain to Lord

Montgomery's regiment, was ordered to proceed to Ireland immediately. The petition from Derry was answered favorably, and three ministers sent over to labor for three months.

The attention of this Assembly was also directed to the conduct of Thornton, the Mayor of Derry, whose interference with the administration of the Covenant has already been mentioned. It appears that Thornton had, in 1644, violently opposed the ministers sent over from Scotland, and had thwarted them in all their efforts for supplying the destitute churches, and he had especially, in official letters, grossly slandered the Rev. John Burne, one of their ministers. Complaint was accordingly made to this Assembly by Burne and the Presbyterians of that region through their commissioners. The Assembly conceiving that the church of Scotland had been insulted in the person of their minister, referred the matter to their committee of bills, who reported that the said Burne and the church have been grievously wronged, and recommended the Assembly to take such steps as their wisdom may dictate. This report of their committee was approved by the Assembly, and they ordered the case to be laid before the Scotch Parliament, then in session, and also before the English Parliament, through their commissioners attending the Westminster Assembly. The letter written to these commissioners shows clearly that the opposition of Thornton was designed to obstruct altogether the revival of Presbyterianism in that part of the province, and that therefore the interference of the Assembly was both justifiable and necessary. The Assembly, also, in other letters to their commissioners in London, urged the speedy transmission to Ireland

of the Directory for Worship and the propositions respecting government.

On the return of Drysdale and Wallace, active measures were adopted for the evangelization of Ulster, especially among the Roman Catholic population who had not been involved in the rebellion. Accordingly, in April, 1645, the Presbytery passed an act, which was read in all the parish churches, that the papists "should be dealt with by the several ministers, to convince them of their idolatry and errors, and bring them over to the truth; or otherwise to enter into process against them in order to excommunication." In the midst of this movement Livingston and the last ministers appointed by the Assembly of 1644 arrived and joined the Presbytery. This was the third visit of Livingston to the place of his early labors since the rebellion. During his stay he assisted in the settlement of David Buttle at Ballymena, and Archibald Ferguson at Antrim, where Livingston himself had been called. A call was also at this time presented to him from the parishes of Killileagh and Newtownards, and one to Hamilton from Ballywalter, which were both declined.

Ulster was now in a state of comparative tranquillity, the ministers appointed by the General Assembly meeting with no interruption in the discharge of their duties, which they carried on during the summer. It became, therefore, an asylum for many families flying from the violence of Montrose, who had espoused the royal cause, and at the head of several Highland clans, reinforced by fifteen hundred Irish from Ulster (the same who, under Colkitto, had captured Weir and Hamilton), was spreading consternation and terror



throughout the kingdom. His brilliant but cruel campaign was crowned by the battle of Kilsythe, in which the Covenanters were totally routed.

The English commissioners, now appointed "governors of the province of Ulster," who had arrived in October, gave additional strength to the Presbyterian cause in Ireland, by siding with the Army Presbytery against that of the Route, already mentioned, though sustained by Dr. Colville, a Scottish prelatist of wealth and influence in Ulster. The commissioners, while thus favoring the Presbyterians, did not forget the other part of their commission—to organize a party favorable to the Parliament, in opposition to the Scots. Jealousies had already arisen between them, which soon after terminated in open hostility. The power of the Independents was fast gaining ground; and although they could not withstand the universal wish of the people to have Presbyterianism established, yet they determined to throw all possible obstacles in the way of its progress, and to this end the Commons, on the 13th of March, by a vote, afterwards embodied in their ordinance of the subsequent March, resolved to remove the right of appeal, in matters purely spiritual, from the ecclesiastical to the civil courts. The Parliament, also, sought to place the power of suspension from the Lord's table under the control of the State. They appointed lay commissioners, with power to modify or reverse ecclesiastical censures; and the Parliament itself was constituted the last resort in all disputed cases of discipline. These Erastian measures were warmly opposed by the Scots and Presbyterians, and the Westminster Assembly petitioned the two Houses against this interference with the spiritual functions of the

Church, declaring that if the alternative, of forsaking their places in the Church, or partaking in the sins which must result, was presented, they would, "with God's grace, choose affliction rather than iniquity."

The increasing strength of the Presbyterian party led the Parliament, on the 13th of November, to order that Belfast be surrendered by the Scottish forces to their commissioners in Ulster before the 17th of January, on the plea that the original treaty between England and Scotland did not warrant the troops of the latter to possess any garrison but Carrickfergus and Coleraine. This order was dispatched to the Scottish Parliament, then sitting in Edinburgh; and at the same time a demand was made upon Colonel Home for the surrender of the town, who refused to comply until he had received instructions from the Scottish Parliament. Accordingly Monro wrote, informing the Parliament of the demand, and asking directions how to proceed, at the same time suggesting that the giving up of Belfast would be the giving up of Ireland. The reply given by the Parliament to Monro is not in existence, but no formal surrender of the town took place; and the flight of Charles into the quarters of the Scottish forces in Newark made it impolitic to press the demand further.

Charles, by his disastrous defeat at Naseby, and the reverses of Montrose in Scotland, lost all hope of retrieving his fortune by arms, and determined to try the effect of negotiation and intrigue. He therefore wrote to the Presbyterians and Independents, professing to desire the ascendancy of both; but, having suffered from his hypocrisy, they refused to listen to his professions, and being sorely pressed by the Parlia-

mentary forces at Oxford, under Fairfax, the hero of Naseby, he determined to throw himself upon the generosity of the Scotch forces at Newark, where, disguised as a servant, and guided by a clergyman well acquainted with the roads, he arrived on the 5th of May, after many narrow escapes on the journey. This put a stop to the four years' civil war, and gave the Presbyterians a temporary ascendancy over the Independents.

The suspension of hostilities was felt in Ireland, and led the English commissioners to relinquish their designs upon Belfast, and cordially coöperate with the Scottish garrison against the Irish, now united with Ormond by a treaty with the council of Kilkenny, which, however, was opposed by the extreme Papists led by the Pope's Nuncio. This party induced Owen Roe O'Neill, with his army of nearly five thousand foot and five hundred horse, to join his standard. With this reinforcement they made a descent upon Ulster. Monro, in the meantime, having collected his forces, marched towards Armagh, Argyle's regiment being left to protect Carrickfergus. On the 5th of June they received information that the enemy were on their march to Benburb and Charlemont, and a party was advanced toward's Armagh, in sight of O'Neill's camp, to prevent them from making an attack upon Colonel Monro, who was advancing from Dungannon. The manœuvre did not succeed, a party being pushed forward to the attack, which was repulsed by Monro, who finding the fort and bridge at Benburb strongly guarded, proceeded up the river and crossed at Kinnard.

About six o'clock in the afternoon the engagement



commenced, O'Neill ordering his troops to advance to the assault. Lord Blaney, with his English regiment, kept their position until he and most of his men were cut off; but the charge of O'Neill's cavalry upon the Scottish horse threw the whole body into disorder, and a general rout ensued, Sir James Montgomery's regiment being the only one which retired in a body. Colonel Conway, after having two horses shot under him, escaped to Newry; Lord Montgomery was taken prisoner; and more than three thousand were left dead upon the field of battle. Monro fled to Lisburn, arousing the country through which he passed, and creating a general consternation, many flying to Scotland. O'Neill might now have possessed himself of Down and Antrim, had not a dispatch reached him from the Pope's Nuncio at Limerick, congratulating him on his victory, and desiring him to march immediately to his assistance. At the time this dispatch was received he was about falling upon the Scots' quarters at Tandragee; but in obedience to the Nuncio he marched with his whole army into Leinster, thus resigning the opportunity of further conquests in Ulster. The army of General Monro entered this battle under great disadvantages, being jaded and fatigued, after a twelve hours march, and a large part of their force under Colonel Monro being unable to make a junction in time to be of any assistance; so that when the enemies' squadrons charged upon their cavalry they were unable to stand the shock, and, while retreating, broke the line of their own infantry, and a general panic ensued.

During this trying period the Presbytery, although perplexed and alarmed, continued their labors without

interruption. The ministers of the Assembly who had finished the period of their appointment in March, were followed by Hutchinson of Colmonel, and Livingston. They were accompanied by commissioners from the Scotch Parliament, sent to confer with the English commissioners respecting the settlement of affairs in Ireland. During the stay of these ministers several young men from Scotland applied to be taken on trial, in view of their settlement in Ulster; but the demoralizing effects of the war made the Presbytery cautious in receiving candidates, though several valuable ministers were soon after added to their number.

The General Assembly, which met in Edinburgh on the 4th of June, received as commissioners from the Presbytery in Ireland Archibald Ferguson of Antrim, minister, and John Edmonstone of Ballybantrim, ruling elder. Besides the usual petition for a supply of ministers, these commissioners presented a memorial from several places, praying that certain ministers who were formerly settled in Ireland might return to their parishes, and also one from Donegal and Derry, for a second supply. The Assembly, owing to the press of business, referred their petitions to the commissioners of the Church, with power to act as the case seemed to require. And on the return of Mr. Ferguson he reported to the Presbytery that Livingston, Hutcheson, Henderson and Robert Hamilton had been designated, if they and their parishes would give their consent; but when the matter was brought before the commission they declined to take any action, but in view of the great necessities then existing in Ireland, they appointed Livingston, Hutcheson, and Coltwart to visit them for a space of three months.

The English Parliament had enacted that lay courts of appeal should be erected in Ulster, which would have resulted in a collision between them and the ecclesiastical courts, and of which the commissioners complained, yet in other respects they had concurred in the plan proposed by the Westminster Assembly. Prelacy was abolished; the Directory was put in the place of the prayer-book; the government of the church, through sessions, presbyteries, synods and general assemblies, was established by ordinance, yet throughout the whole business the Independents rendered the establishment unsettled. For example, the Assembly urged that no assembly except the parochial one established by law should be permitted to meet in any parish; in this the Parliament refused to concur, and hence arose the discussion between the Presbyterians and the "Sectaries" respecting toleration; and thus both parties, in the heat of debate, were hurried into extreme and indefensible opinions, and thus originated the unguarded and somewhat ambiguous expressions on the subject of the magistrates' power, which are to be found in the Westminster Confession of Faith compiled at this critical period, and which, though controled in their interpretation, by the other sound principles asserted therein, so as to exclude them from bearing a persecuting or Erastian sense, are certainly not such as Presbyterians would now employ.

In the meantime several of the congregations had succeeded in inducing young men from Scotland to accept their calls, and the Presbytery was employed during the remainder of the year in examining these "expectants." The first among this number was



Patrick Adair, who was on the 7th of May ordained minister of Cairncastle, who for half a century was one of the eminent leaders of the Presbyterian interest in Ulster. During the months of August and September, Thomas Hall was settled at Inver, Robert Cunningham in Broadisland, and Anthony Shaw in Belfast, the two former of whom continued in their charges for fifty years. Soon after, Anthony Kennedy was settled in Templepatrick, and the entry of his ordination is still extant in the session-book of that congregation. Through fifty-one years of conflict he remained their pastor. In 1688, through infirmity and age, he desired to demit his charge, for reasons well worth recording: "Whereas Mr. Anthony Kennedy hath supplicated this meeting that, in consideration of his age, and thereby of his infirmity and weakness of body, whereby he is disabled from any part of his ministerial work, except it be to preach now and then as he is helped, and that he can not catechise, visit families or sick as were necessary, he now gives up the charge of his present flock, first to Christ, and then to his Presbytery, for their future supply; not that he fears persecution, or danger, or maintenance, though he has spent a good part of his own patrimony in supplying that charge, which if now to the fore might be comfortable to his posterity; but finding his own weakness disabling him from the needful work of such a charge, and the ingratitude of some who make no conscience to receive the gospel and subject themselves to it, he now willingly and sincerely demits his charge of the people of Templepatrick; and in the meantime, till further or better supply be provided, he will allow a third of his current stipend towards the support

of an assistant to himself in the work of the ministry." His resignation was not accepted, but he remained with his people till his death, which occurred on the 11th of December, 1697.

After the settlement of Kennedy, John Baird, chaplain of Argyle's regiment, was settled at Dervock, in Antrim, and John Greg at Carrickfergus. In the month of December, Mr. Weir was sent to make another application to the commission of the church in Edinburg for permission to be given to Livingston to settle at Newtonards, and Henderson at Killileagh, which was again refused, but renewed their former order for Livingston, Colwart, and Hutchinson, forthwith "to repair to Ireland for visiting the distressed Christians there."

About this time Thomas Peebles, chaplain to Lord Eglinton's regiment, was installed at Dundonald, Gilbert Ramsay at Bangor, and James Gordon at Comber, all in the county Down; and in Donegal, Hugh Cunningham, chaplain to Lord Glencairn's regiment, was settled at Ray, in the Lagan, and William Temple at Letterkenny; and in a few favored parishes in the counties of Derry and Tyrone several ministers whose names can not now be recovered were happily planted. At the beginning of the year 1647, in addition to the army chaplain and occasional supplies from Scotland, there were nearly thirty ordained ministers permanently settled in Ulster.

## CHAPTER XIII.

1646-1649.

O'NEILL, having joined the Nuncio at Kilkenny, united with him in opposing the peace which Ormond had concluded with the confederate council. The Nuncio, under protest that the Roman Catholics had not been properly cared for in the treaty negotiated between Ormond and the confederate council, pronounced the highest censure of the Church upon them, imprisoning the members of the council, and substituting, in most instances, bishops in their place, and putting himself at their head, thus usurping the control of the kingdom. He now ordered O'Neill to blockade Dublin; but Ormond, who held the city, anticipating this movement, sent messages to the English Parliament, and Colonel Arthur Chichester to Ulster, informing them of the danger. The British and Scotch officers in Ulster immediately sent Captain William Cunningham to Dublin to gain more particular information of the condition of affairs. Ormond sent back the messenger with the urgent request that they would send him reinforcements, and promising great booty in return for their services.

The English commissioners, who were still in Ulster, on the 27th of October sent forward a detachment of seven hundred dragoons, under the command of Colonel Conway, the son of Lord Conway, and Lieuten-



ant Colonel Owen O'Connelly. They met and defeated O'Neill near Clones, and, after ravaging the counties of Monaghan and Cavan, returned, as Ormond had promised, with a large supply of cattle to Lisburn. Just at this period Sir Francis Willoughby arrived at Dublin from England, with the news that a parliamentary force would sail to their aid immediately by the way of Chester. But Ormond, wishing to form a coalition with the Scots, with whom the King now resided, rather than with the Parliament, sent another urgent request to the Scottish officers for further assistance. They wrote in return from Carrickfergus, on the 10th of November, stating several difficulties which lay in the way of immediate assistance, but that if these could be removed they were willing to do all in their power to assist him.

Two days before this answer reached Ormond the commissioners from Parliament, one of whom was Sir John Clotworthy, arrived in the bay of Dublin, with men and stores, and immediately opened negotiations with Ormond for the delivery of the city, and after twenty days of deliberation, the conditions proposed by the commissioners were refused by Ormond. They therefore reëmbarked the troops and proceeded to Ulster, where they were received with great coldness, with difficulty gaining admittance to Belfast, while the troops were refused entrance either to that place or Carrickfergus.

This coolness to the English commissions arose from the fact that their commissioners were at this time in London applying to the Parliament for the payment of the arrears of the army, and until they could hear the result of this application they were unwilling to

admit these forces into their garrison. This refusal, and their private correspondence with Ormond, offended both Houses of Parliament, and the enemies of the Presbyterians took occasion to represent the Scottish army in Ireland as inefficient, and evincing a disposition to unite with the Irish and Ormond, and therefore did not deserve their arrears. Intelligence of this reaching Ireland, the officers assembled at Carrickfergus on the 20th of February, 1647, and drew up a "Declaration," stating their difficulties, and vindicating themselves from the imputations cast upon them.

After the unsuccessful negotiations between Ormond and the commissioners of Parliament, he attempted to affect an arrangement with the Nuncio's party ; but this failing, and his position in Dublin becoming every day more critical, he determined to surrender the city to the Parliament on the conditions which had already been proposed. He therefore, in the beginning of February, reopened negotiations with the commissioners, who were at that time in Ulster ; but they, fearing that it would end as before, required Ormond to send four hostages to England, as proof of his sincerity ; which he complying with, sent over his second son and three others, one of whom was Colonel Arthur Chichester. Upon their reception in England, the parliamentary forces immediately left Ulster for Dublin, where they arrived in the month of March, being followed soon after by fresh troops from England ; and on the 7th day of May, new commissioners, including only two of the old ones, appointed to treat with Ormond, reached the metropolis, and twenty days after, the treaty was signed and ratified ; and on the 27th of

July, Ormond delivered up the castle and sailed for England.

Immediately upon taking possession of the city, orders were given for the Directory for Worship to be adopted in all the churches, and the prayer-book to be prohibited. This was opposed by the Episcopal clergy, who had, under the protection of Ormond, become quite numerous in the city; but their remonstrance was unavailing. There being now no further need of the Scotch forces in Ulster, orders for their recall were sent to the Scottish Parliament on the 7th of September. An ordinance to this effect had, as early as the month of March, passed the Commons, and steps had been taken to induce the House of Lords, who were unwilling to act until all arrears had been paid to the army, to agree to this movement, but on the promise that this should be done they finally gave their consent.

The English Parliament now resolved to prosecute the war in Ireland with the parliamentary forces alone, and on the 16th of July appointed Colonel George Monck to the command of all the British regiments in Ulster, with the exception of the regiments at Derry and in the Lagan, which were under Sir Charles Coote, the commanders of the different regiments having already been superseded by parliamentary officers. Colonel Monck, who was now in the supreme command, had been a military adventurer in the royal service, and had been taken prisoner by Fairfax, and confined in the tower, but was released on taking the Solemn League and Covenant, and was taken into the service of the Parliament. On his arrival in Ireland he fixed his head-quarters at Lisburn, and immediately addressed himself to the conciliation of the Presbytery,



by representing the Parliament as warmly attached to the Presbyterians, and in favor of the Covenant. In this he was more successful than Coote, President of Connaught, who, when he took the field in November against the rebels, could with difficulty muster a sufficient force for the expedition. Indeed, so unpopular was the Parliament at this time, both with the Scots and British, that a secret organization was on foot in Munster to declare in favor of King, Parliament, and Covenant, in opposition to the "army of Sectaries," who were usurping the supreme power of the State. Their designs were now defeated by the wisdom and sagacity of Cromwell; but the principal part of the Lagan forces under the Stewarts absolutely refused to obey Coote's orders.

During this eventful year the labors of the Presbytery in Ulster were steadily continued, vacant congregations were visited, and discipline faithfully enforced. An act was passed encouraging "privy censures," as they were called, which has long been common in the church of Scotland; once or twice a year, every minister or elder was required to state whether they knew of any scandal, fault, or negligence in their brethren, which required censure, which was passed upon any who deserved it, they hoping by this method to keep up their authority over their members and insure greater fidelity.

Monck and Coote now settled in their commands at Lisburn and Derry, professed great interest in the affairs of the Presbytery, offering them every assistance in reforming abuses among the ministers and immoral practices among the people. The Presbytery, knowing the cunning of these politicians, determined, neverthe-

less, to use the opportunity which Providence had thrown in their way for the reformation of the church, and returned them letters of thanks for their zeal and assistance. While these commanders were thus ingratiating themselves with the Presbytery, they still carried on their operations against the rebels, who were hovering upon the borders of Ulster. In February, 1648, Monck dispatched Colonel Conway, with a party of horse, toward Cavan, who dispersed the forces of O'Neill in that quarter. O'Neill, discouraged by this reverse, and fearing that he would be unable to hold much longer the castle of Cloughouter, in which Lord Montgomery had been confined since the battle of Benburb, agreed to an exchange of Montgomery and his party for Sir Theophilus Jones, the Earl of Westmeath, and Colonel Byrne, which exchange was effected in the latter part of February.

On his release, Lord Montgomery resumed his command and coöperated with Monck. In the month of March, Monck held a council of war, consisting of fifteen British officers, for the purpose of making arrangements for the approaching campaign. He had continued to retain the confidence of these officers, but there was still a great jealousy existing between him and the Scottish army under Monro, whom he endeavored by every method to injure, which led them to write to him, on the 1st of April, from Carrickfergus, respectfully, yet decidedly, complaining of his treatment. There is no answer to this letter on record, and it is unknown whether he gave them any satisfaction.

O'Neill, aware of this want of cordiality between the British and the Scots, determined, in the latter part of the month of April, to make an attack upon Lisburn

with his Charlemont forces, but Monck getting word of this, anticipated the movement by attacking O'Niell's quarters, totally routing him, and leaving nearly a thousand dead on the field, and capturing all their arms and baggage.

During these transactions in Ireland, the Scottish army in the north of England had received their arrears, and on the 30th of January, 1647, had delivered the King to commissioners from both Houses of Parliament. This step appeared to be unavoidable to save themselves from the charge of treachery to the Parliament, or of disloyalty to the King. The war being now concluded, and the Scots withdrawn, Parliament determined to disband their army under Fairfax and Cromwell. But they, flushed with successes and encouraged by the Independents in Parliament, in the month of June, seized the person of the King, and menaced the metropolis, and wishing to break the power of the Presbyterians, impeached eleven of the most distinguished members of that party in the Commons, among whom was Sir John Clotworthy, and by thus excluding them from the House they gained the ascendancy.

In the meantime, Charles, after negotiating with the three great parties of the State, the army, the Parliament and the Scots, on the 26th of December, concluded a secret treaty with the commissioners of the latter, in which he bound himself to establish the Presbyterian church for three years, but annexed was the clause that he "was neither obliged to desire the settling that government, nor to present any bills to that effect." The Scots, on their part, engaged to support Charles against the army and the Parliament,



with force if necessary. This treaty is known as the "Engagement," and resulted most disastrously to Charles himself and to the kingdom of Scotland. When it was made known in Edinburgh, it was unanimously denounced by the ministers throughout the kingdom as a desertion of the Covenant and an unholy alliance, and was opposed in Parliament by a large majority, headed by the Marquis of Argyle. The commission of the Church also pronounced the treaty unsatisfactory; that no security was given for the maintenance of the Presbyterian system, but on the other hand its tendency was to restore prelacy and undo all that had already been accomplished towards reformation; and that it was dangerous to the liberties both of the Church and State.

The majority of Parliament having determined upon a war for the purpose of rescuing the King from captivity, the Duke of Hamilton was appointed to the command; but such was the opposition of the Church, that it was found almost impossible to raise a sufficient force. Commissioners were therefore sent to Ulster to induce the Scottish forces there to declare for the Engagement, and at the same time a letter was sent to the Presbytery at Carrickfergus, vindicating the cause of the Parliament, and ordering them "to stir up the people by their preaching and prayers to a cheerful obedience to their orders, and a ready acquiescence in the Engagement."

To prevent the accomplishment of this plan, Livingston was sent to Ulster, and through his influence a Declaration or warning was issued by the Presbytery, which was read from all their pulpits; but, notwithstanding, twelve hundred horse and two thousand foot were

enrolled, under the command of Sir George Monro as major general.

The Presbytery sent the Rev. John Greg, of Carrickfergus, to the Assembly, which met in Edinburg in the beginning of July, 1648, through whom they declared their opposition to the restoration of the King, and, as on former occasions, petitioned for a supply of ministers. The Assembly now, for the last time, appointed a deputation, consisting of Alexander Livingston, Henry Semple, Andrew Lander, and John Dick, who, in rotation, proceeded to Ulster, and amidst all the confusion and conflicts of party labored with diligence and fidelity. The Presbytery was also active in the extension of the Church, corresponding with the Presbyteries in Scotland and with Colonel Monck and Sir Charles Coote, in reference to this matter.

The Scottish regiments had meanwhile set out for Scotland; but a part were intercepted in the passage by two men-of-war sent by the English Parliament to guard the channel, and the rest, escaping by means of small boats, landed on the Scottish shore, and were immediately ordered to join the main army under the Duke of Hamilton, at Carlisle. In the battle of Preston, which soon followed, the Scottish forces were defeated, the Duke taken prisoner, and the second civil war thereby ended.

Monck, the confidential commander of the English Parliament, participating with them in their indignation against the Scottish regiments who had joined with their enemies in the invasion of England, determined to possess himself of all the garrisons occupied by the Scots in the North. Hitherto he had been de-

tered by the power of Monro; but the levies for England and his favoring the Engagement had greatly weakened his influence. The fear also lest Sir Robert Monro should unite with his son-in-law, Sir George Monro, who was about returning from Scotland with many of his unprincipled followers, and cease his protection, made them an easy prey to the stratagems of Monck, who, seeing his advantage, concerted with some officers whose Colonel had a grudge against Monro, and surprised the castle of Carrickfergus on the morning of the 12th of September, and immediately sent Monro to England, where he was confined for several years in the Tower.

Those officers who were implicated in this affair, being elected delegates from their sessions to Presbytery, were refused their seats when presenting themselves, on account of this transaction. At the very time of these occurrences, Monck sat in Presbytery at Lisburn, pretending to be their friend and patron. He thus succeeded in wresting from Monro his principal garrison, through the unconscious agency of the Scots themselves, thus depriving the Presbyterians of their chief strength and dependence.

The fall of Carrickfergus was immediately followed by that of Belfast, upon which Monck published a declaration explaining his reasons for their seizure. At the same time he sent orders to Lord Clanbrassel and the Montgomerys, directing two hundred men from each of their regiments to join him in his attack upon Coleraine and other fortified places; to this order the Montgomerys answered in a joint letter, asking his reasons for seizing Carrickfergus and his proposed attack upon Coleraine; to which Monck gave a respect-



ful answer, promising to treat their friends who should become prisoners with all kindness, and at another time would give a satisfactory reason for his proceedings, and without further delay surprized Coleraine, by this act occupying the last point held by the Scottish army.

Sir Charles Coote pursued the same course in Derry, but was opposed by Sir Robert Stewart, who had since 1638 held the castle of Culmore, thus guarding all access to Derry by sea. Coote, by stratagem, obtained possession of this castle, and soon after the castles of Lifford and Derg, and thus, before the end of the year, the parliamentary or Independent party had possession of all the strongholds in Ulster, with the exception of Charlemont, which was still in the possession of the rebels.

While the parliamentary commissioners were absent in Scotland repelling Hamilton's invasion, the Presbyterians regained their ascendancy in Parliament, restored the impeached members, and adopted some constitutional measures for the settlement of the kingdom; but after the return of the victorious army its leaders openly avowed their revolutionary purposes. The council of officers presented a Remonstrance on the 20th of November to the Parliament, requiring that the King should be brought to justice, as the "capital cause" of all the evils which had befallen the kingdom. The army removed the King to Hurst castle, December 1st, and the next day, under Fairfax, occupied Whitehall; but the Presbyterian majority disavowed the seizure of the King and resolved to continue the negotiations with him. The next day, Colonel Pride, with a detachment, seized fifty Presbyterian members as they entered, and the day following

nearly an hundred more were shut out and secured or forced to fly. The Rump Parliament, thus constituted, on the 1st of January, 1649, ordered the King to be tried, and he was beheaded at Whitehall on the 30th of January, in the forty-ninth year of his age.

## CHAPTER XIV.

1649-1653.

THE death of Charles created five distinct parties in Ulster, two of which were Popish and three Protestant. The ultra-Popish party, led by the Nuncio and Glamorgan, aimed at the complete restoration of Popery, and exclusion of all other churches, under the protection of some Catholic sovereign. The moderate Papists were in favor of uniting with the Protestant royalists, under Ormond, in restoring Charles the Second, with complete toleration, if not restoration, of the old religion. The parliamentary or Independent party was for a republic, without King or House of Lords; the prelatical royalists for the unconditional restoration of Charles the Second. Between these stood the moderate royalists or Presbyterians, who condemned the king's death as an unnecessary cruelty, but abjured the doctrine of passive obedience, and insisted on the Solemn League and Covenant as still binding on all three kingdoms.

As soon as the news of the King's death reached Ireland, the Presbytery met at Belfast on the 15th of February, and issued a paper known as the Representation, protesting against the execution of Charles, and condemning in strong terms the doings of the "Sectaries." This manifesto called forth an answer from John Milton, who at that time filled the office of Latin



Secretary to the Council of State. At the same time it was resolved to hold a fast and renew the Solemn League and Covenant; and letters were sent to Monck and Coote, containing copies of the Representation, inviting them to join in the Covenant. Monck, in his answer, desired a delay of the publication of the paper until he could convene a council of war and confer with them. The answer of Coote was more explicit, declining to confer with the Presbytery, and stating the dangerous consequences that would follow the course proposed. The Presbytery was not moved from its purpose by these letters; but on the last Sabbath of February the Representation was read in all their churches, and the Solemn League and Covenant formally renewed.

During the months of March and April various papers passed between Monck and his council of war and the Presbytery and council of the army. The Presbytery, having renewed the Covenant in their own congregations, sent some of their members to Monck and the council of war, desiring that the Covenant might also be administered to the army. They answered that it was not expedient at this time, it having already been signed by the army. Whereupon the Presbytery sent a commission to express their dissatisfaction at this answer, and reminding Monck of his promise to call a council of war from the officers of the different regiments to take measures for the safety of the church and country, at the same time intimating that they had appointed a committee of ministers and elders to attend this council. This committee accordingly waited upon Monck, but effected nothing, he evading a direct answer to their petitions.

At the same time Monck was approached by the of-

ficers of the army, making the same requests, that the Covenant might be administered to the army. Monck, in reply, proposed to them a Declaration which he had framed; but they, rejecting this paper, called a meeting of officers, at which a new Declaration was presented, drawn up by Lord Montgomery, which, after being amended and approved by the Presbytery, was signed by the officers. This paper was called the "Declaration of the Army and the Country," and was presented to Monck at a council of war held in Belfast on the 9th of April, 1649, who opened the conference by proposing the following queries: "1. I desire to know what cause you have to distrust me for my faithfulness to the good cause you stand for? 2. Why do you grow upon me daily by new propositions, and are not satisfied with those which the Presbytery at first propounded, but assume an unlimited power to yourselves? 3. Why do you declare against that prevalent party in England, without order or advice from England, and thereby do in all appearance prejudice the good party oppressed there, by declaring yourselves sooner than they think it seasonable; and yet to suffer malignants in your quarters, contrary to order? 4. I desire to know (in regard of our dependence upon England) whom it is we shall serve for the present?"

To these questions, proposed with a view of distracting the councils of his opponents, the council gave a firm and convincing answer; and with their reply they sent five propositions from the army and six from the country, of similar import, to which they required an immediate answer. Monck asked for a delay of a week, which was afterwards extended to a month, at

the end of which time, perceiving that his officers and men were all opposed to his design, he withdrew to Dundalk, and on the 8th of May joined the party of O'Neill, then proposing to drive Ormond from the neighborhood of Dublin; but his plan was frustrated by the royalists, under Lord Inchiquin, and soon after Monck returned to England, whence he never returned to Ireland.

While the army was thus negotiating with Monck, the Presbytery, at a meeting held in Belfast on the 10th of April, issued another paper, styled *The Vindication*, in which they "profess before God and the world their constant resolution to subject themselves to the lawful authority of the righteous King and free Parliament of England, and to the lawful commands of such as shall have power from them;" while at the same time they "disclaim the present usurped power of Sectaries," whom, say they, "we are resolved never to obey as the lawful authority of England." These words are sufficiently expressive of the attitude in which the Presbyterians stood towards the Commonwealth.

The army council, after signing their Declaration, prepared themselves for action, first appointing Lord Montgomery of Ards to be their commander, and then occupying Lisburn, which had been deserted by Monck. Montgomery, though seeming to enter heartily into their plans, was secretly designing to bring the county under the subjugation of Ormond. All the strongholds in Ulster were now in the possession of the Presbyterians, except Derry, which was held by Sir Charles Coote on behalf of the republicans. The council of war therefore sent commissioners to Coote, advising



him to take the field in behalf of the Covenant; but he refusing to join with them, Sir Alexander Stewart marched with his regiment to Derry and besieged the town. On the 28th of March the Lagan forces took possession of Manorcunningham and Carrigans, thus partially cutting off supplies from the garrison. During several weeks various skirmishes occurred, in one of which Captains Finch and Lawson were taken prisoners, and on the 23d of April, Coote, with a large party, sallied out and attacked the Lagan forces at Carrigaush, killing and wounding some, and securing many prisoners, besides arms and ammunition.

Notwithstanding this success, he was still closely blockaded, the Lagan forces bringing their entrenchments within cannon-shot. On the 26th of May they were joined by Colonels Robert Stewart and Mervyn, soon followed by Sir George Monro, lately forced to abandon Scotland, with a party of Highlanders who had followed him. The arrival of these reinforcements, instead of adding strength, created unhappy divisions in the army, the royalist party assuming the whole control of the siege, so that the ministers sent by the Presbytery to the camp were forced to leave, after advising Sir Alexander Stewart to withdraw with his party. On the 7th of June Sir George Monro, leaving the army before Derry, advanced upon Coleraine, which he surprised. During this whole time Lord Montgomery was holding a secret correspondence with Sir George Monro and Lord Conway, promising to suppress the ministers, and remove such officers from the army as were not favorable to the royalist party. This coming to the knowledge of the Presbytery, Montgomery was questioned as to its truth; but he

denied it all. Nevertheless the Presbytery became more suspicious of him, and sent a committee to Belfast to observe his motions; but while they were there Monro arrived, (being sent for secretly by Montgomery,) and threatened the town, whereupon Montgomery, under pretense of helping the garrison, entered and took possession on the 27th of June, dismissing Colonel Wallace, the governor, and producing his own commission from the King. Two days after the discovery of this treachery of Montgomery the Presbytery, meeting at Carrickfergus, addressed a severe but faithful letter to him, which he immediately answered; but they, deeming this manifestly insincere, sent a rejoinder, in which they urged him to prove his sincerity by ordering Monro to surrender the city of Belfast, and regretting his connection with Ormond, the bitter foe of the Covenant. Montgomery, on the receipt of this letter, instead of listening to its suggestions, ordered Monro to seize the castle of Carrickfergus, and on the next day he joined Monro before the town, which, being unprepared for an attack from such an unexpected quarter, was surrendered upon favorable terms, and Dalzel, formerly an officer under General Robert Monro, was appointed governor, where he remained for some time, spreading terror throughout the country. The Presbyterian ministers, on the surrender, fled to the county of Down.

The day on which Montgomery entered Carrickfergus he published a declaration, with the view of vindicating himself from the charge of treachery, and of persuading the Presbyterians to submit to his authority, at the same time inducing Lord Inchiquin, next in command to Ormond, to write to the Presbytery,

declaring that the King was determined to establish Presbyterianism in Ulster, and urging them to join the royal standard.

The Presbytery, not deceived by these promises, at a meeting held in Bangor, the 7th of July, 1649, sent a respectful letter to Lord Inchiquin, explaining their proceedings, and at the same time drew up a paper in answer to the declaration of Montgomery, entitled, "A Declaration by the Presbytery at Bangor," which was ordered to be read from all their pulpits. Montgomery answered this Declaration by sending an officer to the Presbytery, which met the following week, accusing them of treason, and threatening them with imprisonment. He also summoned the ruling elders to appear before him, and Monro wrote a threatening letter to some of the ministers, summoning them to appear before him at Coleraine. In view therefore of their danger they withdrew from their parishes, some going over to Scotland, but soon returned on the advice of ministers in that kingdom.

On the 11th of July, Monro, who had been appointed governor of Coleraine, again joined the army before Derry, carrying with him men and cannon, and the siege, which had not been interrupted, was pressed with greater vigor, this being the last fortress in Ulster not in the hands of the royalists. On the 27th of July, Lord Montgomery with a reinforcement joined the besieging army, and immediately summoned the town to surrender in virtue of his commission from Charles II. No notice being taken of this by Coote, an assault was made the next day by the royalists, which resulted in the repulse of Montgomery with great loss. Meanwhile the news reached the Lagan



forces of the perfidy of their general through the means of the Presbytery's Declaration, who now, for the first time understanding the character of the cause for which they were fighting, abandoned the siege in great numbers. Notwithstanding this loss, Montgomery continued the blockade, but on the 7th of August they were surprised by the arrival on the other side of the river of Owen Roe O' Niell, with a reinforcement of four thousand foot and three hundred horse, O' Niell having privately concluded a treaty with Coote. This reinforcement compelled Montgomery and Stewart to raise the siege and return to Coleraine. All the castles in the vicinity of Derry and the Lagan surrendered to Coote, except Raphoe, which was held and defended by Bishop Leslie, who had returned to Ulster on the death of the King. O' Niell was taken sick while in Derry, and was carried on a litter to Cloughouther castle, where he died a few months later.

The face of things in Ulster was completely changed by the arrival of Oliver Cromwell in Dublin, as Lord Lieutenant and commander-in-chief, on the 15th of August, 1649, and the unexpected energy of his proceedings. Before the end of the month he had invested Drogheda, defended by a chosen garrison under Sir Arthur Aston, a Popish officer of great skill and experience, and at the end of a week, after two repulses he led the reserve in person and took the place by storm, giving no quarter, and killing many of the innocent inhabitants, which struck terror into other places and prevented their resistance. Going southward to meet Ormond, he sent Colonel Venables into Ulster, who, by a succession of rapid movements, took Dundalk, Carlingford, Newry and Dromore, at the last

place recovering some standards which had been previously taken by the royalists. He then occupied Belfast and Lisburn, placing a garrison there and at Antrim, the latter commanded by the famous Owen O' Connolly, now a Lieutenant Colonel in the Republican or parliamentary service, but soon after killed in an attack upon Antrim by a detachment from Sir George Monro's force under command of Colonel John Hamilton, which was followed by the burning of the town itself, a loss more than made good, however, by the capitulation of Dalzell at Carrickfergus, when invested by the united forces of Venables and Coote. As the place was not to be surrendered for two weeks, the two Lords, Montgomery (of Ards) and Claneboy (now Clanbrassil,) undertook to relieve it in reliance upon reinforcements from Ormond; and when this hope was extinguished by the victories of Cromwell in the south, and the time fixed for the capitulation (Dec. 3d,) was approaching, they resolved to risk a battle with the parliamentary army, which took place near Lisburn, and resulted in the total rout of the royalists, Monro saving his life by swimming the river, and escaping first to Charlemont and then to Enniskillen, while the two Lords succeeded in joining Ormond in the south.

In the meantime the Presbytery continued to denounce the regicides and sectaries, in which they were indulged by Venables and Coote as long as the result of the campaign was doubtful; but after the battle at Lisburn they began to threaten and discountenance the Presbyterian ministers, and to promote the Independent interest, which was represented for six months in Ireland by the great John Owen, who, as Cromwell's

chaplain, preached constantly in Dublin. He was appointed to this office on the 2d of July, 1649, at the usual salary, with an additional sum of one hundred pounds a year, to be paid quarterly to his wife and family, who had remained in England. On the return of Owen to England he urged upon the Commons, in a sermon, the necessity and duty of providing for the spiritual wants of Ireland, which Cromwell himself attempted by inviting preachers from New England, who consented on condition that their Church should be established as it was at home ; that their people should be aided in removing with them, and should choose a governor among themselves ; that no Irish should reside within their settlement ; and that they should have " a due proportion of outward encouragement in houses and lands." These modest propositions do not seem to have been granted ; and although the Independents were sustained and favored by the rulers of Ireland for ten years, they made little progress ; so that when the Republican ascendancy was over they had only one or two churches in Dublin, and as many more in Munster. The Parliament had previously endowed Trinity College with the revenues belonging to the sees of Dublin and Meath and the cathedral of St. Patrick, and on the same day had abolished the liturgy and ordered the Directory for public Worship to be introduced in Ireland as well as England.

After the death of Owen Roe O'Neill the command of the royalist army, which was sought by his kinsman Sir Phelim, and the Earl of Antrim, was conferred, through the predominance of priestly influence, on Ever McMahon, titular (or Popish) Bishop of Clogher, and as soon as the season permitted prepar-



ations were made to seize the strongholds of Ulster, which were in possession of the republicans.

At the same time the Republicans were not inactive; Sir George Monro, despairing of relief, had given up Enniskillen to Coote, who, collecting a body of troops from the Lagan, invited Venables to join him, for the purpose of seizing Charlemont; but this junction was for a time prevented by the prompt action of McMahon, who, surprising the Castle of Toome, and throwing a body of troops forward into Antrim, compelled Venables to return for the protection of his own quarters. Failing to form a junction with Venables, Coote occupied Dungannon, but his supplies being cut off, he advanced with the main body of his army to Omagh, where being reinforced, he dispatched a body to coöperate with the garrison of Enniskillen, aiming still in all his movements to form a junction with Venables, which was finally accomplished at the pass of Breagh-dough, through an ill-advised movement of McMahon, against which he and others had been warned, according to a popular legend, by an apparition. Coote having been reinforced by Colonel Fenwick's command from Coleraine, determined to risk an engagement, and on the 21st of June the armies met near Letterken'ny, on the river Swilly. This battle, which was the last in Ulster until the revolution, was severely contested, and resulted in the entire defeat of the royalists, McMahon being taken prisoner, and soon after beheaded by Coote, and his head exposed on one of the gates of Derry. This victory was soon followed by the capitulation of Charlemont, the last stronghold of the Irish royalists.

The war being now at an end and the Republican

ascendency established throughout Ulster, the authorities began to press the (English) Engagement of submission to the Parliament, without a King or House of Lords. The Presbyterian ministers refusing to accept this, many of them were imprisoned, among whom are found the names of Drysdale, Baty of Ballywalter, Fergus Alexander of the county of Down, and Henry Main, Archibald Ferguson, David Buttle and Anthony Kennedy of Antrim; and this led to an argumentative correspondence with Venables and Coote, which the latter terminated by a published declaration that they must submit or leave the country. Their situation was made still more trying by the appointment of new Parliamentary commissioners, Cromwell retaining the Lord Lieutenancy, but being really employed in Scotland, and devolving the actual command in Ireland on his son-in-law, Henry Ireton. To these commissioners an Independent minister, Samuel Winter, was appointed chaplain, but was soon after transferred to Trinity College, as Provost, which he held until the Restoration.

The Presbyterians in Ulster were now regarded with extreme jealousy by the friends of Charles II., their ministers subject to all kinds of indignity, being excluded from their pulpits and their support withdrawn, until at a council of war, held at Carrickfergus, in March, 1651, they were formally banished from the kingdom, on account of which many of them fled to Scotland. A few of them, unwilling to leave their parishes in this hour of distress, remained and preached in the fields and barns, urging the people to constancy in their doctrines, and impressing them with the duties which they owed to their lawful sovereign,



in opposition to the present usurpation. In the close of the summer of 1651, renewed efforts were made to eject them, so that at last there were but six remaining, Thomas Peebles, James Gordon, and Gilbert Ramsay, in Down, and Anthony Kennedy, Patrick Adair, and Robert Cunningham in Antrim.

In the midst of these trials they were invited to a conference with Timothy Taylor and a Mr. Weeks, or Wyke, leading Independent ministers at Antrim, which conference was held in March, 1652, and proved to be a public debate in the castle, in which the Presbyterian cause was reluctantly but ably defended by Adair, and in a tone of moderation, which was acknowledged and commended by their opponents. At the conclusion of this debate the ministers returned home under a safe conduct, and preached more boldly and openly than they had heretofore done. The news of this reaching Scotland, Archibald Ferguson and Andrew Stewart, of Donaghadee, ventured to rejoin their brethren in Ireland.

Ireton had in the meantime died, and Lieutenant General Fleetwood, who had married his widow, was on the 9th of July appointed commander-in-chief of the forces, and one of the commissioners for the civil affairs of the kingdom. And among the first acts of his administration was the erection of a court of justice for the trial of all those who had been concerned in the murder at the breaking out of the rebellion. This court circulated through the principal towns of the kingdom, during the early part of the year 1653, and it is alleged that about two hundred criminals suffered in the various provinces under its sentence, among whom was Sir Phelim O'Neill.



But the Independents themselves were now threatened with schism by the Baptists who arose within their bosom, but began to take an independent stand in Ireland as well as in England, under the lead of Thomas Patient, who had come over as a chaplain in Cromwell's army, but afterwards supplanting John Rogers, the learned but eccentric Independent minister of Dublin. Small Baptist churches were during this year also established at Kilkenny, Clonmel, Waterford and Cork. On the arrival of Fleetwood, in 1652, he brought with him Christopher Blackwood, a Baptist minister, who was for a short time settled at Kilkenny, but finally acted as an evangelist, under Patient and Claudius Gilbert, who was pastor of the church at Limerick. Through the influence and preaching of these men the deputy and commissioners resolved to silence all ministers who still opposed the commonwealth. Accordingly a correspondence was opened with the Presbytery, and a day appointed for them to meet at Belfast. At this meeting they issued a paper which they had drawn up the day before, in which they declared their unwillingness to acknowledge the government as lawful, but at the same time denying that they have any intention to excite the people to rebellion, their great work being to preach the gospel.

This paper was debated for many hours, when the meeting was adjourned for six weeks. In the interval they sent Andrew Stewart to Scotland, to inform the ministers there of their troubles, and the stand they had taken. At the end of six weeks, they again met the commissioners, who proposed to them to send two of their number to Dublin to confer with Fleet-

wood and the council, and if they could satisfy them the matter would end. Accordingly, Ferguson and Adair proceeded to Dublin in January, 1653, and after a conference with Fleetwood and other officers they were dismissed.

Not long after commissioners were dispatched from Dublin to Carrickfergus to offer the Engagement to the whole country, and in the prosecution of this work they sent parties of soldiers to search the houses of the few ministers who remained, expecting to find some secret correspondence with the royalist party in Scotland. They found papers only in possession of Mr. Adair, and these were rescued by a maid in the house, who, hearing that they were Adair's papers, took them from the sergeant's cloak-bag while he was asleep; not one of the seventeen soldiers engaged in this search could read. The ministers were soon after summoned to appear at Carrickfergus, and threatened with removal from the country, but were immediately dismissed with unexpected lenity, and especially without any pledge being exacted, in consequence of intelligence received of changes which had taken place in England.

## CHAPTER XV.

1653-1660.

CROMWELL, after the battle of Worcester in 1651, being possessed of more than royal power, and recognized as a sovereign by foreign States, wished to get rid of the speculative politicians composing the Rump Parliament, and after vainly trying to make it dissolve itself, at length on the 20th of April, 1653, at the close of a debate in which he had taken part, called in his soldiers and expelled the members, ordering the mace to be removed, and locking the doors. In the afternoon of the same day he dissolved the Council of State, thus uniting in himself the legislative and executive authority. The news of this revolution reached Carrickfergus on the day on which the members of the Presbytery were examined before the commissioners, and it so disconcerted their plans that they were immediately dismissed to their parishes, as has already been stated.

Among the first measures of Cromwell was a plan for transplanting the disaffected Scots from Ulster into Leinster and Munster. Those who consented to the removal were to have a valuable consideration in land, the remission of their taxes for a year, and other advantages; on the other hand, those who showed any unwillingness were to be compelled to go, with but few favors from the government. But the execution



of this plan was interrupted by the movements which resulted in the proclamation of Cromwell as Protector. He had summoned certain persons to meet at Whitehall in the beginning of July, who were formed into a Parliament; but the majority of them being Anabaptists, it was found impossible to use them in the way he intended, but by management they were induced to resign their power into his hands, and thus it was peaceably dissolved.

The elevation of Cromwell created great dissatisfaction among the Baptists composing the Irish Council, he accordingly sent over his son Henry, a young man of the highest promise, in the beginning of March, 1654, on a mission of inquiry. He was received in Dublin with every mark of respect by the authorities. He found the council unpopular, and inactive in every way but in the distribution of the public lands among themselves. The army, with the exception of a few royalists, expressed themselves favorable to the government of the Protector, and the great mass of the country people were overjoyed at the prospect of deliverance from the government of the council, which had become very burdensome. During his stay, young Cromwell visited the college, "where he was entertained with copies of verses, speeches and disputations." After a fortnight's absence he returned to England.

The effect of this visit was to conciliate all parties and restore tranquility in the south, so that several congratulatory addresses from the army and from Independent churches were forwarded to Cromwell. One from Patient's church in Dublin was signed by one hundred and twenty names, and directed to "His High-

ness the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland." The same beneficial effects extended also to Ulster. The Presbyterian ministers returned to their parishes, and had no restrictions in their public services, and the Presbytery was again allowed to hold its stated and public meetings in the various towns of the province.

The Church of Scotland was at this time in great agitation, caused by two parties which had sprung up called the Resolutioners and Protesters, the first composed of those who had sanctioned the admission of royalists and other enemies of religious liberty into places of civil and military trust for the purpose of sustaining the cause of Charles II.; the second composed of the more zealous ministers and elders, who protested against the acts of the superior courts, which sanctioned this course. These parties carried their bitterness so far as to refuse to commune with one another. This controversy was at its height when the Irish ministers, flying from persecution, arrived. They naturally adopted the views of the Presbyteries with which they were connected, and thus they became divided among themselves. Some of them being among the Protesters, the commission of the Church of Scotland, in their public papers, were led to reflect on the whole of the Irish ministers as interfering with things which did not belong to them. In this difficulty the Irish ministers met together at Ayr to consult as to the course they should pursue, when it was determined that whatever difficulty there might be among the Scotch Presbyterians they would keep themselves free from the strife, lest on returning to Ireland they should sow discord among the brethren there.

The measures of Cromwell, which opened the door for the return of the exiled ministers to Ireland, led to the introduction there of several young men of the Protester's party without the approbation of the Presbytery, who, fearing that they might introduce the same disorder into Ulster, held a meeting, at which they warned Cunningham and Semple, who had invited these expectants over, of the evils which might result from such a course.

Another meeting of the Presbytery was held soon after at Bangor, at which was passed an overture, called the Act of Bangor, which declared that although some differed in opinion from the rest, yet there should be no mutual contestings about the differences in Scotland among themselves, nor any notice of them in their preaching, prayers, or conference among the people. But whatever mention might indirectly be made of these divisions, it should be in order to heal them in Scotland; and praying that these same divisions, for which there was no ground, might not arise among them.

Another act of the Presbytery was in reference to planting the church with men from Scotland. They resolved to endeavor to find men of ability, learning, prudence, and piety, and those who should seek the peace of the church; and that all applications to Scotland for men should pass through the hands of the Presbytery. They also resolved that no man should be received unless he had recommendations from ministers of both sides in Scotland, and that none should be admitted until they had engaged and subscribed the Act of Bangor. They also determined upon a strict examination of all who made application for ad-



mission as to "what they had read, and what stock of learning they had, not only in those points taught in the philosophy colleges in Scotland, but also how they had improved their time after that, whether in colleges of divinity, or, if they had not that opportunity, how they improved their time otherwise as to grounding themselves in positive divinity, and studying common places in controversial divinity and church history." This course was deemed necessary, as many congregations were now making application for ministers, and many young men were coming over, of their own accord, seeking for settlements. These proceedings of the Presbytery were most salutary in their effects, and called forth the approbation of wise ministers on both sides in the Church of Scotland.

The increasing number of the ministers in Ulster led to a division of the Presbytery, in 1654, into three commissions or committees, with the power of transacting ordinary local business, the highest jurisdiction being still reserved to the whole body. By a subsequent re-arrangement there were five such "meetings" organized, for Down, Derry, Antrim, Route, and Lagan; and still later a delegated body called a "general meeting" or "committee," nearly corresponding to a synod in the Church of Scotland.

The support of the ministers being still inadequate, there being no tithes collected for five years after 1649, Sir John Clotworthy procured for them a stated allowance from the Irish Council, in common with the Independent, Baptist, and Episcopalian ministers. At first they objected to receive this allowance, as being a dependence upon a usurping power, but upon consideration they concluded that as their people were greatly

burdened with the government tithes, and as they would only be receiving what was rightly theirs, and especially as no conditions had been laid upon them, they would accept the offer.

In the beginning of July, 1655, Henry Cromwell was again sent to Dublin, as "major-general of the army in Ireland," accompanied by his chaplain, Francis Roberts, an Independent minister, and to counteract the influence of the Baptist ministers he brought over several Independent ministers, whom he settled as fellows in Trinity College and pastors of the city churches. Among these were Dr. Thomas Harrison, the celebrated Stephen Charnock, who became a fellow of the college and preacher in St. Werburg's church, and Mr. Samuel Mather, who the next year became colleague to Dr. Winter, in St. Nicholas' church. Henry, on his arrival, received letters of congratulation from the leading Independent ministers of the country, and in proportion as he was flattered by them he became suspicious of the Presbyterians and Baptists, lest they should oppose his government. He therefore wrote to his father, asking how he should deal with these discontented parties. Oliver writes in reply, "Time and patience may work them to a better frame of spirit, and bring them to see that which for the present seems to be hid from them; especially if they see your moderation and love toward them, which I earnestly desire you to study and endeavor all that lies in you."

It was at this period that the Quakers first made their appearance in Ulster. William Edmundson, a merchant from the north of England, settled in Antrim about the year 1653, and on one of his visits to

England he became acquainted with the celebrated Quakers, George Fox and James Naylor, and through their influence embraced their opinions. In 1654 he removed from Antrim to Lagan, where the first Quaker meeting ever held in Ulster was established, composed of seven converts. Here he was joined by John Tiffin and Richard Clayton, itinerary preachers from England, with whom he traversed the whole country, preaching against the abuses of the clergy. Edmundson did not confine himself to Ireland, but traveled through England, Scotland, and even through North America and the West Indies. The well-meaning but violent conduct of these men at last drew down upon their society the notice of the authorities, and notwithstanding the boasted toleration of the Independents, they were treated with great severity, some of them being cast into prison, and many fines imposed. With this exception the country under Henry Cromwell was in a state of great tranquillity. By his conciliatory course he gained the confidence of the most bigoted Anabaptists, and not long after his arrival all parties cordially concurred in sending contributions, amounting to nearly eleven hundred pounds, to the Protestants of Savoy, then suffering persecution from their sovereign.

While the country was thus enjoying prosperity and peace, John Livingston for the last time visited Ireland. He arrived in the summer of 1656, and visited his old parish of Killinchy, where he found but ten or twelve persons who were in the congregation when he left them. While in Ireland he received a call from Dublin, which he declined on the grounds that he was not released from his charge in Scotland, and his pref-



erence for his old charge in Killinchy if he ever settled in Ireland. During this visit he had an interview with Edmundson, who was in prison in Armagh, an account of which Edmundson narrates at length in his journal. It may be stated here that Edmundson, being soon after liberated, settled upon a farm in Cavan, for no other purpose than to obtain an opportunity of refusing to pay tithe, and enjoy the satisfaction of suffering for the testimony.

The Presbyterians in Ulster at this time, although protected by Henry Cromwell, were yet looked upon with some suspicion, lest they should espouse the cause of the exiled King. Accordingly orders were issued to Monck at Edinburg to permit no Scots to remove to Ulster without special permission, and Colonel Cooper, commander-in-chief of the northeastern parts of the province, was directed to watch carefully the movements of the Presbyterians. It was not long before they were brought into conflict with the authorities. Several fast-days and thanksgivings had been appointed by Parliament, which the Presbytery uniformly refused to observe. Whereupon Henry Cromwell himself wrote threatening letters to the Presbytery, and several of the members were cited to appear before the Council at Dublin. The Presbytery sent two of their number, Hart and Greg, to Dublin, who stated to the Governor that conscientious scruples prevented them from observing the appointed days, believing that such appointments belonged to the church, and not to the State. The jealousy against the Presbyterians is seen also in the case of John Greg, who had received a call to Carrickfergus. Colonel Cooper, the commander, in writing to Henry Cromwell, on this affair

says, "I do humbly conceive that it is much for the peace of Ireland, in all towns of strength at least, no Scotch minister be admitted, except he be a known friend to the present government; and I hope your lordship and the Council will not admit them into Derry, Coleraine, Carrickfergus and Belfast. And if it could well be done it were advisable that no Scotchman might live in those towns, at least for some years; for your lordship knows there is more danger to be expected from that interest than from the Irish in Ulster."

Soon after this the governor wrote again to Henry Cromwell in reference to the Scotch ministers, in which he seems to have formed a more correct estimate of their character, as appears from one sentence in his letter: "The Scotch ministers do promise very fair, and according to my observation and experience may with more ease be led than driven; and the tenderness your lordship shows them is the likeliest way to gain them." - Whatever may have led Henry to the conclusion, from this time the Presbyterian clergy were treated by him with greater confidence and favor. Perhaps one cause was an accession of power, he being appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland on the 24th of November, thus being relieved from the control of the Council he could with more freedom promote the religious interests of the country.

One of his first measures was to convoke a meeting of ministers (Baptist, Presbyterian and Independent,) to consult about their maintenance on some uniform plan. Hitherto Fleetwood's scheme of collecting the tithes into the treasury, and paying salaries to the ministers, though generally enforced in Ulster, had

been only partially adopted in the other provinces. In some places the clergy collected the tithes, as formerly, independently of the state; in other places they were supported partly by tithes and partly by salaries from the treasury; and in many parts of the kingdom no adequate maintenance could be procured for a resident ministry; while the embarrassments of the revenue were such as not only to prevent the grant of additional salaries, but to delay the payment of those already granted. About thirty ministers, therefore, met in Dublin on the 23d of April, and agreed to a scheme of the nature of a sustentation fund, the minimum to be received by each minister being one hundred pounds. At this same meeting Henry advised with them about the instruction and conversion of the papists, the observance of the Lord's day, and the suppression of profaneness.

These measures for the improvement of Ireland were interrupted by the sudden death of Oliver Cromwell, on the 3d of September, 1658, and the proclamation of his eldest son Richard as his successor. Henry Cromwell immediately applied to be relieved from his command in Ireland, but Richard, knowing his influence over the army and his growing popularity, could not dispense with his services, but raised him to the office of Lord Lieutenant, into which office he was sworn on the 2d of November. No change took place, however, in the administration of Irish affairs. The kingdom continued to enjoy unusual tranquility, and in no part of the empire did there exist a more cordial or general submission to the new Protector.

The Presbytery, during this period of peace, were occupied in visiting remote congregations, and filling



the vacant places in Ulster with pastors. The different sections into which the Presbytery was divided had frequent meetings. In April, 1659, the General Presbytery or Synod met at Ballymena, and at the request of Henry Cromwell, they appointed three of their number to visit Portumna, in the county of Galway, for the purpose of planting the gospel, where the population were for the most part papists; but the plan was never carried out, Cromwell's attention being soon after occupied with affairs in England.

Richard Cromwell soon found himself incapable of maintaining his father's government, and the Parliament, which, on account of financial difficulties, he had called in January, was dissolved by him in April. The army again asserted its power by seizing the government, and in May the Rump Parliament, which had been dissolved by Oliver in 1653, resumed their sittings. On the 7th of June it determined that Ireland should again be governed by commissioners of their appointment, and sent letters of recall to Henry Cromwell, and empowered Miles Corbet, the chief baron, and Steele, the chancellor, who had been nominated as commissioners, to carry on the government until the arrival of their colleagues, Jones, Basill, and Goodwin. Before these letters arrived, Henry Cromwell wrote to the Speaker of the House, resigning his office, and retired to his estate in England, where he spent the remainder of his life. And on the 9th of July, Ludlow, the celebrated republican, was appointed commander-in-chief of the army in Ireland.

During these fluctuations in the government, the Presbyterians in Ulster were but little affected, but it soon became evident that their only permanent secu-

rity would be in the restoration of their exiled King, and from them proceeded the first motion for his restoration. But, in the meantime, further difficulties had occurred in England. The Rump Parliament, whose sittings had been interrupted by the interference of the army in the month of October, resumed their sittings in the end of December. At this session they recalled the Irish commissioners, approved the conduct of Sir Charles Coote and Sir Hardress Waller in obtaining possession of the important garrisons in Ireland, and on the 19th of January, 1660, they appointed these officers, with three others, new commissioners for Ireland. But their power was soon brought to an end, for on the 21st of February the members who had been formerly excluded by the army, under Colonel Pride, resumed their seats, under the protection and by the orders of Monck; and the violent republicans having retired in disgust, the Presbyterian or constitutional party became once more predominant.

The Long Parliament, thus restored to the state in which it was prior to the death of Charles I., after dispatching their more pressing business, and having summoned another Parliament to meet in the month of April following, dissolved themselves on the 16th of March, 1660. The new Parliament, composed of both Lords and Commons, met on the 25th of April, and invited Charles II. to return and resume the crown, as his hereditary right. But they committed a fatal error, which required another revolution to rectify, in recalling the king, and reinvesting him with power, before due stipulations had been made for the constitutional exercise of the royal prerogative.

## CHAPTER XVI

1660-1662.

THE changes which were occurring in England had their influence upon affairs in Ireland. Sir Charles Coote, heretofore the friend of the commonwealth, now united with Lord Broghill, in seeking the interests of Charles, and opened a correspondence with him and with General Monck. Sir Hardress Waller, another of the commissioners, suspecting their design, seized the castle of Dublin in the name of the Parliament, but after a siege of five days he was forced to surrender to Coote. The government was now in the hands of the royalists, supported by the Presbyterians, and was governed by a council of military officers, who took active measures for the restoration of the King.

The Irish Parliament having been legally dissolved, it was impossible, as in the case of the Long Parliament, to hold another; and accordingly an informal Parliament, or general convention, was called by the council and the chief men of the country. It met in Dublin on the 7th of February, and Sir James Barry, (afterwards Lord Santroëy) was chosen president, and the Rev. Samuel Cox, a noted Presbyterian minister of Dublin, the chaplain. Their first act was to call eight ministers, two from each province in Ireland, to give their advice in reference to the cause of education and the welfare of the Church. These ministers appeared in



Dublin, and after consultation determined to recommend to the convention the propriety of renewing the Covenant; their plan was defeated by the opposition of the Rev. Mr. Vesey, of Coleraine, and Sir James Barry, the president of the convention. They, however, drew up a list of near a hundred orthodox and faithful ministers, besides those belonging to the Presbytery in Ulster, which they presented to the convention, as being legally entitled to the tithes of the parishes. These measures of the eight ministers were counteracted by the influence of Coote and his associates, in whose hands resided the whole authority for the settlement and maintenance of ministers. Influenced by news which they received from Charles, they changed their policy in regard to the Presbyterians, and allowed the bishops who had remained in Ireland to receive compensation for their services, and gave them their titles, which had for a long time been denied.

On the 8th of May, in London, and on the 14th, in Dublin, Charles II. was proclaimed Sovereign of the three kingdoms, and on the 28th of the same month the convention adjourned, having appointed Sir John Clotworthy and others to attend the English Parliament, and Coote and Broghill to wait upon the King; and on the 29th, Charles (it being his birthday) entered London, amid the greatest demonstrations of joy. On his accession Charles II. made great promises to the Presbyterians, thereby lulling them into security; but in a short time he threw off the mask—restored prelacy and the liturgy, denounced the Covenant and its adherents, and refused toleration to Non-Conformists, in the face of all his promises and solemn oaths.

The Presbyterians in Ulster, like their brethren in

England, were deceived by the hopes held out by Charles, and on the adjournment of the Convention sent a deputation to the King to explain their state and solicit his protection. On their arrival in London they applied to their friend, Sir John Clotworthy, for advice, who took them to see Mr. Calamy, Dr. Manton and others, who expressed their fears that their petition would be unacceptable to the court on account of its strong language against prelacy and its advocacy of the Covenant. Indeed, the King had already not only disowned the Covenant and declared for prelacy, but had named Bishops for all the dioceses in Ireland. The deputation was therefore in some perplexity what course to pursue; they had no authority from their brethren to frame another address, and their best friends declined to introduce them to the court with the present one. They were therefore at last prevailed upon to throw out the clause referring to prelacy and the Covenant, and were introduced to the King, who gave them fair words and a promise of his protection.

The Presbyterians of Ulster were now entering upon another period of suffering and persecution. They had for some years been in a highly prosperous condition. Their ministers had been faithful in promoting and consolidating her interests. During this time Presbyterianism had struck its roots so deeply throughout the province that during all the succeeding times of persecution it stood firm and flourishing, while others were completely prostrated. In the year 1653, there were only about half-a-dozen ministers remaining in Ireland, and now there was not less than seventy permanently settled ministers, having under their charge eighty congregations, comprising a population

of one hundred thousand souls. These ministers were associated in five Presbyteries which were subordinate to a general synod, which met four times in each year, and the ministers received by them were strictly examined as to their literary, religious and theological views, which trials often extended through eight months. Before ordination, they were required to take the Solemn League and Covenant, and accept the Westminster Confession of Faith, Catechisms and Directory, and also to subscribe the Act of Bangor. These ministers were settled solely upon the call of their respective parishes. Discipline was rigidly enforced; visitation from house to house was maintained; catechetical instruction was faithfully given to all classes, and thus was laid the foundation of that solid acquaintance with the doctrines of the gospel as exhibited in the Westminster Confession of Faith and Catechism, which preserved the Church in unity and vigor amidst the distracting sects and heresies of the protectorate, and the subsequent snares and persecutions of the prelacy.

The hour of trial was now approaching. A few weeks after the arrival of the King in London he had nominated persons to the vacant sees in Ireland. Bramhall became Archbishop of Armagh (and Primate;) Jones of Clogher; Lohn Leslie of Raphoe; Henry Leslie of Meath; Down and Connor, his former see being given to the famous Jeremy Taylor; and Robert Leslie, the son of Henry, was appointed to the see of Dromore. The gentry, especially those who had been most active against the restoration, now hastened to excite the State against the Presbyterians. The very ministers whom they had so lately persecu-



ted on account of their loyalty they now denounced as unworthy of toleration.

Lord Robarts, who had been appointed on the accession of Charles Lord-Deputy of Ireland, was soon after recalled and the government committed to three Lords Justices, namely, Sir Charles Coote, who had been recently created Earl of Montrath, Sir Maurice Eustice, the Lord Chancellor, and Lord Broghill, now Earl of Orrery. They were sworn into office on the last day of December, and on the 27th of January, 1661, two Archbishops and ten Bishops were consecrated in St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, with great pomp and formality. One of the first acts of the Lords Justices was to appoint an extraordinary fast to be held on the 30th of January, the anniversary of the execution of the late King, and at the instigation of the Bishops they issued a proclamation forbidding all unlawful assemblies (including the Presbytery) and ordering the officers to prevent or disperse them.

Notwithstanding this order the Presbytery met in Ballymena, in the month of March, to consult as to the proper course to be pursued, which, coming to the ears of the authorities, a troop of horse was sent to disperse them, but they had providentially dissolved before it arrived. Afterwards they met more privately, and sent four of their number as commissioners to the Lords Justices in Dublin, praying that the promises of the King might be fulfilled. At the request of Sir John Clotworthy, now Lord Massareene, they were admitted to the council, but retired without any satisfaction.

Soon after their return, the Presbytery were summoned by the Bishop of Down, Jeremy Taylor, to his

visitation. In answer to this summons they sent three of their number to the Bishop, to express their willingness to meet him, and confer with him on the interests of the Church, but declining to submit to his Episcopal jurisdiction; and after a long dispute he dismissed them, and soon after, in one day, he ejected thirty-six of them from their churches, holding, that as they were not ministers, never having been ordained by Bishops, it required no process of suspension or excommunication, but a simple declaration that their parishes were vacant, which he immediately filled with priests and curates of his own choosing. Not long after, the rest of the brethren in the diocese were ejected, except Hamilton of Killead and Cunningham of Antrim, who, through the intercession of Lord Massareene, were allowed to preach for six months longer.

This example of Taylor was soon followed by the other prelates in Ulster. Not only were the ministers cut off from their churches and livings, but were forbidden, under heavy penalties, from preaching, baptizing or exhorting their suffering people. Of the sixty-eight Presbyterian ministers in Ulster, only seven conformed to the reëstablished Church, the rest submitting to their extreme privations, and continuing their ministry in secret. Of this noble army of confessors, sixteen were members of the Presbytery of Down, fourteen of Antrim, ten of Route, eight of Tyrone, and thirteen of Lagan. These ministers were the first to suffer in the three kingdoms, the Non-Conformists of England not being ejected till the month of August in the following year, nor the Presbyterians of Scotland till the subsequent month of October, 1662. The cause of their being the first to

suffer arose from the fact that the old form of church government and worship had never been abolished by law in Ireland; and, therefore, at the Restoration, prelacy being still the legal establishment, was immediately recognized and enforced. But in England and Scotland it had been abolished by acts of Parliament, and the Directory substituted in room of the Prayer Book. It was necessary, therefore, that these acts should be first repealed, and new acts passed before the Bishops had power to proceed against those who did not conform.

After an interval of nearly twenty years, the Irish Parliament met on the 8th of May, and was opened by a sermon from Bishop Taylor. Archbishop Bramhall was chosen Speaker of the Lords, and Audley Mervyn, who had in 1640 impeached Bramhall and others of high treason, was elected Speaker of the Commons. Lord Massareene was the only man in the House of Lords who was a friend of the Presbyterians, but there were quite a number in the Commons who sympathized with them.

Soon after its organization the Parliament adopted a Declaration forbidding any to preach in Ireland unless they conformed. This was on motion of Lord Montgomery, of Ards, who had twice solemnly sworn in the Covenant to extirpate prelacy; and ten days after an act was passed condemning the Solemn League and Covenant, as "schismatical, seditious and treasonable," and ordering it to be burned in the towns and cities of the kingdom by the common hangman. This was faithfully performed in all the towns, except Carrickfergus, where the Mayor, Captain John Dalway, of an ancient Presbyterian family, refused to comply,



for which he was brought on his knees to the bar of the House of Lords, and fined one hundred pounds. This act of burning the Covenant led to some imprudent measures on the part of a few young ministers, who, under the influence of the Scottish Covenanters, held great meetings in the open air, and preached against the government, denouncing as unfaithful and time-serving their more prudent brethren, who thought no such measures called for in the Church of Ireland, and by their cautious, self-denying conduct, not only edified their people at the time, but eventually led to the removal of the yoke which galled them.

On the 4th of November the Duke of Ormond was nominated Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, but he did not come over till July in the following year. In the meantime the Lords Justices, who were disposed to toleration, continued their government, but it gradually became more rigorous and severe, through the instigation of the Bishops, until on the 30th of April they issued a proclamation, in which they state, that as "Recusants, Non-Conformists and Sectaries had grown worse by clemency," no further indulgence would be granted by the State. But the arrival of Ormond on the 27th of July, and his immediate entrance upon the office of Lord Lieutenant and Governor of Ireland, gave them a little relief. He was disposed to sympathize with them for their former sufferings on behalf of the King, so long as they did not excite the jealousy of the Bishops. His administration on the whole, which lasted for seven years, presented a remarkable contrast to the unprecedented severity with which the Non-Conformists and Presbyterians were treated at this period, both in England and Scotland.

Throughout the year 1662 the ministers continued to perform such labors as the times would permit, living in peace and loyalty to the magistrates. Yet they were unable to suppress the calumnies and misrepresentations raised by their enemies. Lord Massareene, their constant friend, residing in Dublin, and a member of the Privy Council, recommended to them the preparation of a vindication of themselves, to be presented to the Lord Lieutenant, and did himself prepare a draft of one, which he submitted to them, but fearing that in such a paper they would be required to say more than their consciences would allow, they declined to present it, but sent three of their brethren, Patrick Adair, Andrew Stewart and William Semple, to Dublin to consult with Lord Massareene. They arrived in Dublin in August, 1662, where they remained until the end of October. While there they prepared a petition, which was presented to the Duke by Lord Montgomery, now Earl of Mount Alexander, and Sir Arthur Forbes, and afterward they were introduced to Ormond by Lord Massareene. The next day he remarked to these noblemen that "by their petition he perceived they had suffered *for* the King, and now they were like to suffer *under* the King." All the satisfaction they could get from him was, that they must "live according to the law, by serving God in their own families, without getting multitudes together."

## CHAPTER XVII.

1663-1684.

UNDER the government of the Duke of Ormond Ireland enjoyed comparative tranquillity for several years, which was interrupted by the discovery of a conspiracy, known in history as "Blood's Plot." It originated among some old Cromwellists, as they were called, who were scattered through the country, and who had an abiding antipathy to the King's government. Meeting among themselves and mourning over the oppressions of the Bishops and the increase of Popery, they formed a plan for ridding themselves of the evil and securing a greater liberty of conscience. Their principal leader was one Thomas Blood, who had been an officer in the King's army against the first Parliament, but coming over to Ireland, where he had some property in the neighborhood of Dublin, he came in contact with his brother-in-law, Mr. Leckie, a Presbyterian minister, a man of ability and learning, and through his influence he was drawn over to the Presbyterian side. Persuaded by Leckie, he entered willingly into the plans of the conspirators. Accordingly he and Leckie, with the consent of the rest, came to the north of Ireland and visited a number of prominent Presbyterians, among whom were Mr. Greg, Mr. Stewart of Donaghadee, and Captain James Moore, and at a meeting called at the house of Mr.



Greg, they opened their scheme, aggravating the iniquities of the times, the usurpations of the Bishops, the tyranny of the courts, the increase of Popery and the misgovernment of the State, and in the end proposed that they should go to Dublin, where the whole matter would be explained to them, at the same time declaring that nothing was intended against the lawful authority of the King.

Finding that they could make no impression upon these three they made no further attempt in Down and Antrim, but passed into Lagan and Antrim, where they met the same discouragement, except from Mr. McCormick of Magherally, and Mr. Crookshanks of Raphoe, who had already become connected with the plot. From thence they went to the south and west of Ireland, having no further correspondence with the north, or with the Scotch. In Dublin they held private meetings, and carried on correspondence with those in other parts of the kingdom who had consented to act with them. But one to whom they had proposed their plan revealed the whole to Ormond, who advised him to continue his connection with them until the plan was ready for execution. At length, on the 22d of May, the day on which they had determined to seize the castle of Dublin and take the Duke's person, they were surprised and the principal conspirators taken prisoners, among whom was Leckie, Blood making his escape. Among their papers was found a Declaration, giving as their reasons for taking up arms the growth of Popery and the oppression of the Bishops, and also a list of the names of those who were concerned with them. The names of the three whom they had consulted in Ulster not being among them.

The Duke of Ormond was very active in seeking for those who were implicated in this plot; and his suspicions being greatly excited against the Scotch ministers he caused all of them in Down and Antrim to be arrested on one day, and most of them suffered much from their imprisonment and the unjust suspicions raised against them, although their sufferings were mitigated through the intercession of Lord Massareene and the Earl of Mount Alexander. On the 2d of July the chief conspirators were brought to trial, and three of them being convicted of high treason were condemned and executed. Leckie became insane during his imprisonment and was not on trial with the others, but getting better he made his escape, but was soon recaptured, and offered his life if he would conform, which he refusing to do was executed on the following December.

This unhappy affair greatly excited the Lords Justices against the ministers of the north, and they were ordered to leave the country or suffer imprisonment. All except two, Keyes and Cathcart, chose exile rather than imprisonment, and most of them went over to Scotland; a few, through the intercession of influential friends, were allowed to remain in Ireland in a private capacity, employing themselves in privately instructing and conversing with the people; and so blameless were their lives that the Duke of Ormond granted them an indulgence of six months from the interference of the courts on account of their non-conformity. On the 25th of June Bramhall died suddenly, and was succeeded in the primacy by Margeston, the Bishop of Dublin, who, being a man of a mild and conciliatory temper, the indulgence of the minis-

ters was extended for six months longer. During this period of relaxation those who were in prison were released, and those in Scotland returned, one by one, to their congregations; so that in a short time all who had been in exile returned, except McCormick and Crookshanks, who, being deeply implicated in the plot, and not seeking or expecting pardon, joined the army in Scotland, and were both killed at the battle of Pentland, where the Presbyterians were commanded by Lieutenant James Wallace.

During this period of trouble the ministers in Lagan enjoyed more security and peace than their brethren in Down and Antrim. But Robert Leslie, Bishop of Raphoe, envying their ease, summoned four of them to appear before his court, but they, not answering the summons, were excommunicated, and thrown into the common jail, but through the intercession of friends they were permitted to live together in a house in the town, where they remained prisoners for six years, notwithstanding every effort was made by their friends for their release.

This harsh example of Leslie, who inherited the intolerant spirit of his father, the late Bishop of Down, was not followed by the other prelates of Ulster; so that in the course of four or five years the Presbyterian Church had nearly recovered its former position in the province. The ministers now preached more publicly, and by degrees they attained to such freedom, that in 1668 they built houses of worship, and performed all the ordinances of the Church publicly. The Presbyterians held their regular monthly meetings, and the discipline of the Church was revived.

There appeared to be at this period a growing dis-



satisfaction with the established Church among the people. Those who owned estates found their tenants oppressed and impoverished through the drain occasioned by their rents and tithes. They were disgusted with the pride and unreasonable exactions of the superior clergy, which bound them more closely to their own laborious ministers. Owing to these and other causes, the Presbyterian Church in Ulster, at the beginning of the year 1669, had attained to great prosperity, and one of the ministers in a letter to a friend in Scotland, written in April, 1669, says, "It is a matter of rejoicing that the Lord's work seems to be reviving here. Christ has a Church here that appears with the fairest face, and the cleanest garments; and has proven most faithful with God of any of the three, (national churches,) and really hath much of the light of his countenance. The sun seems to have fairly risen on this land; whether it may be soon overclouded I can not say: but Presbyterians' liberty is in many places little less than when they had law for them. They are settling their ministers with encouragement, and building public houses of worship for their meetings, and providing vacancies with ministers. About a month ago I had occasion to be at Dublin, when the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was administered publicly on the Lord's day, at the ordinary time, and some hundreds standing without, the doors and windows of a throng meeting house being cast open."

In September, 1669, the Duke of Ormond was superseded by Lord Robarts as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland—a man of unblemished character, an opposer of the vicious, and tolerant to those who differed from him. But these high qualities soon made him unpop-

ular with the army and gentry, which occasioned his recall in the following April, and Lord Berkley was appointed to succeed him.

About this time the Church was troubled by the preaching of some ministers who had come over from Scotland, the most prominent of whom was the well-known Alexander Peden. They collected great multitudes together in the fields; and because the resident ministers disapproved of this indiscreet course, they were denounced as time-servers, and cowardly betrayers of the interests of the truth. It was at this time that a general convention, or synod, was organized, as previously mentioned,—and among other acts it recommended contributions to be taken up for the exiled Scots in Holland, among whom were the Rev. John Livingston and Colonel James Wallace, both of whom died at Rotterdam a few years later. They also appointed Mr. Greg to prepare a history of the Church of Ireland.

A new trouble now arose among the ministers in Down, through the instigation of Bishop Robert Leslie, of Raphoe, who, visiting Bishop Boyle, the successor of Jeremy Taylor, and upbraiding him for his negligence and want of zeal, Boyle was induced to carry his persecutions further than even Leslie had done in Raphoe. He therefore summoned twelve of the ministers to appear before his court, threatening them with excommunication. The ministers, after meeting for consultation, dispatched one of their number to Dublin, to present their difficulty to the Lord Lieutenant. In this they were greatly befriended by Sir Arthur Forbes, who, at the death of Lord Massareene, which occurred in September, 1665, had become the great patron

of the Presbyterians. He, knowing their sufferings and their loyalty, interceded with Primate Margeston in their behalf with such success that a letter was written to Boyle to stop all proceedings in the case until the 10th of August, at which time the Primate would be in the north on his triennial visitation, and would himself adjudicate the case.

In the meantime the Presbyterians had lost some of their most valuable ministers by death. James Cunningham and Thomas Crawford had died at the close of the year, and James Shaw, Gilbert Ramsay, and Thomas Peebles soon after ; and on the 22d of July John Greg was buried, and Mr. Richardson followed a week later. The death of these prominent men was a great blow to the Church ; but their loss was soon made up by the arrival of young men from Scotland, not less than six being settled in the Presbytery of Down about this time. Their freedom from persecution at this period is remarkable ; for at that very time meetings of Non-Conformists, or Conventicles, both in England and Scotland, were violently suppressed, not more than five persons being allowed to worship together, but in the way prescribed by law.

A remarkable casualty, which, according to the habit of the times, if not of all times, was regarded as a special divine judgment on the persecutors and oppressors of the Church, was the falling of the gallery in the new theatre at Dublin, during the performance of a play called the Non-Conformist, and designed to ridicule the scruples and sufferings of the Presbyterians in particular. Among the injured were a son of the Lord Lieutenant, and Lady Clanbrassil,



who, the year before, had caused the preaching house at Bangor to be pulled down.

Lord Berkley, the Lord Lieutenant, having occasion to visit England, the Lord Chancellor and Sir Arthur Forbes were appointed Lords Justices, and sworn into office on the 12th of June, 1671. Sir Arthur embraced this opportunity of releasing from prison those who had been confined for Non-Conformity, and among the number was a wheelwright named John Goodall, a Scotchman, who had settled in Armagh shortly before the restoration. Being a strong opposer of prelacy, he excited the anger of the clergy, who had him cast into prison for working at his trade on Christmas-day, and refusing to comply in any particular with the religious forms of the establishment, where he remained for three years, until released by Forbes.

The Presbytery was at this time troubled by an internal difficulty, caused by the fanatical presumption of an indiscreet and turbulent licentiate named David Houston. Hitherto there had been the greatest harmony existing among the members of the Presbytery, and all were united in promoting the peace and prosperity of the Church, until the arrival of Houston, who, under the influence of Peden, already noticed, collected together large assemblies at unusual times and places, in opposition to the settled pastors. The Presbyteries of Antrim and of Route remonstrated with him on the evils which would flow from his course; and at length, on the 23d of August, 1671, he appeared before the latter Presbytery, and read a public acknowledgment of his fault. But in a few months he had returned to his former practices. Accordingly, in January, 1672, the Presbytery were again compelled

to interfere, and advised him to remove out of their bounds, which he declining to do, they, on the 27th of February, withdrew his license. The General Committee approved of this action, and directed further proceedings against him for certain alleged immoralities; but Houston, becoming alarmed at their firmness, again owned his misconduct, and after a suspension of a year the Presbytery restored his license in July, 1773. This self-willed and unstable preacher, by his irregular proceedings, laid the foundation of that division in the Presbyterian church in Ulster which still subsists, and he is claimed as one of the earliest witnesses to the peculiar opinions of the Covenanting or Reformed Presbyterian church that appeared in the north of Ireland. The experience of the Presbytery in this difficult case led them to a more careful scrutiny of those who applied for licensure and ordination, and resulted in the adoption by the General Committee, in February, 1772, of some admirable rules for ordination.

Among the tokens of returning favor to the Presbyterians was the unsolicited donation, by the King, of a yearly pension of six hundred pounds upon the civil list of Ireland to the ministers of Ulster. This grant is said to have been made through Sir Arthur Forbes, and in consideration of their loyalty to Charles during his exile; but as it was included under the head of secret service money, not to be accounted for, it is a matter of dispute, or at least of discordant statements, whether it was actually paid more than one or two years during the remainder of the reign of Charles and that of James II., though it furnished a precedent and an example for the *Regium Donum*, afterwards granted



to the Presbyterian church of Ireland. During this period of tranquillity the Presbyterians began to extend their operations beyond Ulster, sending supplies to Clonmel, Ross, Tipperary, Waterford, Wexford, and Wicklow, while at home they encouraged the erection of a school at Antrim, over which there presided for a time the illustrious John Howe, who resided in Ireland for five years as domestic chaplain to the Clotworthy family.

The jealousy of the State was again aroused against the Presbyterians by the unfortunate enterprise of their oppressed brethren in Scotland, which terminated in the decisive battle of Bothwell Bridge, on the 22d of June, 1679. The news of this insurrection alarmed Ormond, who had been once more appointed to the office of Lord Lieutenant. He immediately ordered a frigate to cruise in the channel, to cut off all communication with Scotland, and reinforced the garrison of Carrickfergus; and the Earl of Mount Alexander was stationed on the eastern coast of Antrim, to arrest any who attempted to cross from Scotland. Reports were circulated that the Presbyterians were ripe for a similar insurrection; and to vindicate themselves, the Presbyterians of Down and of Antrim prepared an address to Ormond, declaring their continued obedience to the law, which had the effect of allaying the apprehensions of the Lord Lieutenant, and they continued to enjoy their freedom for a year and a half, when an opportunity occurred for a renewed persecution.

The Presbytery of Lagan, in the beginning of the year 1681, appointed a fast-day, and, according to their usual custom, assigned their reasons for holding it.



These were understood by the authorities as charging them with perfidy and tyranny, for which they were brought before the Council, condemned by a jury, and sentenced to pay a fine of twenty pounds each, and to subscribe an engagement not to offend in a similar manner again, and to be imprisoned till they would comply. Refusing to enter into this engagement, they remained in prison for eight months. Immediately succeeding their condemnation, the Prelatists throughout Ulster renewed their persecution of the Non-Conformists. The Presbyterian meeting-houses were closed, their public exercises of worship were forbidden, the penalties of recusancy were in many places inflicted, and the Presbyterians were forced to hold their meetings secretly. This continued for two years, it being the period in which Russel and Sydney were brought to the scaffold in England. During the year 1684, the state of the Presbyterians in Derry and Donegal was so deplorable, that the greater number of the ministers of the Presbytery of Lagan intimated to the other Presbyteries their intention of removing to America; and though the execution of this threat was prevented by the death of Charles II., and the subsequent appointment of Lord Granard as one of the Lord Justices, it is an interesting point of contact with the history of our own Church, that its founder, or first minister, Francis Makemie, was ordained and sent out about this time by the Lagan "Meeting," in response to a request of "Colonel Stevens from Maryland, beside Virginia." Makemie was from the neighborhood of Ramelton, in Donegal, and was enrolled as a student in the University of

Glasgow, in 1675. He was first introduced to the Presbytery in January, 1680, by his minister, the Rev. T. Drummond, and was licensed by the Lagan Presbytery in 1681, and on this call of Colonel Stevens he was ordained by the same Presbytery.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

1685-1690.

JAMES II. succeeded his brother as King of England, in February, 1685, and his first acts in reference to Ireland were designed to fill all public places of importance with Roman Catholics, in open violation of the law, and for the express purpose, as he afterwards assured the Pope, of restoring the Catholic faith, not only in the three kingdoms, but throughout the dispersed colonies of his subjects in America.

His arbitrary measures were at first carried out by his brother-in-law, Lord Clarendon, the new viceroy of Ireland, who was sworn into office on the 9th of January, 1686; but he was soon replaced, however, by Lord Tyrconnel, a fanatical Papist, who was sworn into office on the 12th of February, 1687, who followed out the same reckless career of his predecessor in his attempts to establish the Catholic ascendancy, his ulterior purpose being to separate Ireland from the English crown, if James should die without male issue, and place it, as an independent nation, under French protection. In this treasonable scheme he was supported by Louis XIV., with whom he kept up secret correspondence.

Having already succeeded in placing the army in the hands of the Romanists, his next step was to secure the civil control, which he accomplished by filling all



the important offices with Roman Catholics, and inducing the towns to surrender their charters, which were replaced by new corporations, composed almost wholly of Romanists. In ecclesiastical affairs the same course was pursued. Pensions were granted to the Popish prelates, the legal incumbents in the parishes thrown aside and their tithes appropriated to the Romish clergy; dispensations were granted to those who renounced the established religion, and they were allowed to continue in possession of their benefices. In order to facilitate the execution of his projects James published his famous Declaration for liberty of conscience, suspending by virtue of his royal prerogative the execution of all the penal laws for religious offences, and prohibiting the imposition of religious tests as qualifications for offices. This Declaration extended to Ireland and afforded great relief to the Presbyterians, who, though fully aware of its insidious designs, did not hesitate to avail themselves of the liberty thus granted to resume the exercise of their rights, so long unjustly withheld. Their places of worship were again opened; Presbyteries held their stated meetings publicly, and all ecclesiastical functions were exercised without fear.

The Presbyterians in Ulster, although relieved by the Declaration from the violence of the High Church party, were yet greatly alarmed by the signs of the times. During the whole of the year 1688 every possible means was unscrupulously used to lay popular rights prostrate at the feet of a despotic and bigoted monarch. Forgetting, therefore, all their former persecutions in this hour of peril, they joined with the Episcopalians in opposing the advance of Romanism

in every way in their power, although an attempt at open resistance was impossible on account of the presence of a formidable army, composed almost exclusively of Roman Catholics. They could do little therefore but patiently observe the progress of events. This state of suspense was relieved by the news of the landing of the Prince of Orange in England on the 4th of November, and the subsequent removal of the troops from Ulster to oppose his progress. The Presbyterians were the first to welcome and congratulate the Prince, sending Doctor Duncan Cumyng, a physician of Dublin, to London for this purpose.

In the meantime the Earl of Mount Alexander and other prominent Protestants received anonymous letters, stating that at an early day the Irish intended to rise in arms and murder the Protestants. These reports created a great and popular excitement throughout Ireland; and on the 7th of December, 1688, the inhabitants of Derry, acting on the advice of James Gordon, minister of Glendermot, and in opposition to that of Bishop Ezekiel Hopkins and most of the prelatial clergy, seized the keys of the city and shut the gates against the Earl of Antrim's Red Shanks—a Roman Catholic regiment, sent to take the place of the garrison recently removed. This brave deed, done by a few young men on the impulse of the moment, and in opposition to grave advice, not only saved the city, but provided a place of refuge to which in a few months afterwards the Protestants of Ulster were glad to fly, and was the first blow struck in Ireland against King James. Enniskillen behaved with a heroism equally noble. Though deserted by their magistrates they resolved to shut their gates against the Romish



troops sent by Tyrconnel to occupy their garrison, and in this they were encouraged by Robert Kelso, the Presbyterian minister, who took every opportunity to animate his hearers to take up arms in their defence.

The Protestants in Ulster, although relieved from their fears of a general massacre, determined to continue their measures of defence, especially as the half-disciplined recruits of Tyrconnel's army were going through the country plundering the Protestants of arms and horses, for which outrages they could obtain no redress. They therefore formed themselves into Protestant associations in every county, who appointed councils of war and a commander-in-chief for each county, and a general council of union for the whole. Through these associations the whole Protestant population was soon armed and organized into regiments, with able officers commanding. The general council, early in January, 1689, dispatched Captain Baldwin Leighton with an address to the Prince of Orange, relating their grievances and the measures they had adopted for their defence, and assuring him of their ardent attachment to the cause of constitutional freedom. And on the 22d of January the Presbyterian general committee or synod sent the Reverend Patrick Adair of Belfast, and the Reverend John Abernethy of Moneymore, on the same mission.

The Protestant associations had as yet gained possession of but three towns, Enniskillen, Derry and Colerain; Newry, Charlemont and Armagh being in the possession of Tyrconnel's forces, and Belfast and Lisburn held by Sir Thomas Newcomen's regiment, composed of Romanists and Protestants, and Carrickfergus by a regiment of new levies under Magennis



Iveagh. The first movements of the Protestants were against Carrickfergus, but through the vigilance of Sir Thomas Newcomen and others the plan was defeated. On the 21st of February it was determined to make another attempt, and a thousand men, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Bremichan and Major Baker, afterward governor of Derry, were dispatched with the view of surprising the town, but on their arrival they found that the garrison was in such a posture of defense as to render the attempt hopeless. Lord Mount Alexander and Sir Arthur Rawdon, with several troops of horse, having joined the infantry before the town, held a parley, in which both parties agreed upon certain stipulations for the removal of their mutual jealousies, and resolved to transmit to Tyrconnel an account of their agreement. They sent as their messenger a friar named O'Haggerty, who for the first time informed Tyrconnel of the real condition of the Protestants in Ulster, and he determined to immediately dispatch to Ulster the flower of his army, to disperse the associations and reduce them to subjection. But as a previous measure he issued a proclamation on the 7th of March, offering a free pardon to all who would lay down their arms, and threatening those who refused with the penalties of high treason ; and at the same time he intimated privately the probabilities of another massacre from the ungovernable Irish Romanists.

The notice of Tyrconnel's purpose was conveyed to Ulster by Rev. Alexander Osborn, a Presbyterian minister of Dublin, who, at a meeting of the general council, urged them to reject the proposals of the Deputy. They were the more encouraged to listen to this advice, by

a letter which had been received a few days before from the Prince of Orange, dated February 7th, approving of their conduct, and promising them speedy and effectual support. Accordingly they proclaimed King William and Queen Mary in all the towns subject to their authority.

During this meeting of the general council, or consult, as it was sometimes called, nine Presbyterian ministers presented themselves, and offered to go to their several parishes and request all the men between the ages of sixteen and sixty to rendezvouz at certain places, with such arms as they could procure, and three days' provision; but their plans were frustrated by the approach of the army from Dublin. The Protestant inhabitants in alarm deserted their towns and fled, some to Belfast, and others to the coast, hoping to escape into Scotland or England. On the very day of the visit of the nine ministers to the consult, the main army approached Dromore, driving in the outposts of Major Baker, and killing many inhabitants who were endeavoring to carry away their property; and although Lord Mount Alexander and others marched to their support from Hillsborough, they were unable to rally their undisciplined levies, and a general and confused flight ensued, which is known as the "break of Dromore." The castle and its stores, and the papers of the general council of Ulster, fell into the hands of the victors. This victory left defenceless the whole of the north-east of Ulster, and so discouraged the Protestant leaders that many of them abandoned the country, and some accepted protection from the Irish generals.

While this division of James' army was engaged at Dromore, another part proceeded from Ardee towards

Monaghan, where they met with some resistance from the forces under Lord Blaney ; but hearing of the defeat at Dromore, he abandoned Dungannon and Armagh and retreated towards Coleraine, which he reached on the 16th of March, having defeated on the way a detachment of the enemy from the garrisons of Charlemont and Mountjoy.

Coleraine was now occupied by a body of troops poorly supplied with ammunition, and imperfectly fortified. On the 27th of March the main body of the enemy, under General Hamilton, appeared before the town, and supported by artillery he commenced the assault ; but being gallantly defended, he was forced to withdraw to Ballymoney. In the meantime the garrison formed a line of communication and defense along the whole course of the river Bann, thus preventing a junction between General Hamilton and the forces of Lord Glamoy, who was marching from Antrim. During the first week in April no collision occurred between the parties ; but on the 7th, a strong body of the enemy, having obtained boats, crossed the Bann, and attacked Colonel Edmonstone, who was guarding the trenches, and not expecting an attack from this quarter. After a gallant defense, the enemy receiving large reinforcements, it was determined to abandon the town. A retreat was effected over the mountains towards Derry, and Hamilton took possession of the place.

The Protestants in Ulster were now deprived of all their strongholds except the fortified city of Derry, against which the forces of the enemy were soon to be concentrated. King James, who had reached Dublin towards the close of March, set out for Ulster on the



8th of April, with twelve thousand men and a train of artillery. On the 14th he reached Omagh, and sent forward his forces to seize the passage of the river Finn above Strabane ; and the Protestant forces who held this important pass being unsupported, were compelled to give way. On the 18th James advanced with the main body, and blockaded the city of Derry. Lundy, the Governor, himself a Protestant and a soldier, secretly entered into treaty to surrender the city ; but his design becoming known among the citizens and soldiers, it awoke such a storm of indignation that he was compelled to fly in disguise. Major Baker and Rev. George Walker were appointed joint governors in his room—the one in the military, the other in the civil department. The garrison was found to consist of about three hundred and fifty officers and seven thousand soldiers, most of the superior officers belonging to the established Church, but the vast majority of the inferior officers and soldiers being Presbyterians. There were also in the city eight Presbyterian and seventeen Episcopal ministers, most of the latter being curates. It was no time now to revive party feuds ; and as the prelates, at the sight of danger, had fled once more, the Presbyterians, who three years before dare not worship God in their meeting houses for fear of them, were now, when their help was required, generously allowed the use of the cathedral for their religious service every Sabbath afternoon. During the remainder of the month of April little occurred, with the exception of two successful sallies under Colonel Adam Murray a noted Presbyterian ; and on the other hand the surrender of the fort of Culmore to General

Hamilton which cut off all communication with the city by water.

While these events were occurring at Derry, the Protestants of Down were not idle. Captain Henry Hunter, at the head of the Protestants who had arms, in several engagements defeated the regiment of Colonel Magennis, seized and garrisoned the castle of Killileagh, and took possession of Downpatrick, liberating all persons confined for political offences. These unexpected successes for a time relieved the people of Down and encouraged the garrison of Derry. But their triumph was of short duration; for King James hearing of the successes of the Protestants in Down, dispatched Major General Buchan with a sufficient force to reduce them to subjection. On the 13th of April they met Hunter, who had taken up his position between Comber and Killileagh, and engaged him. In this "break of Killileagh," as it was called, three hundred were slain, and Hunter himself was taken prisoner, but afterwards escaping, he fled to the coast, and finally reached the Isle of Man.

During these troubles public worship was almost entirely suspended throughout the province. The Presbyterian ministers, after the battle of Dromore, were obliged to abandon their congregations, and many of them fled to Scotland. From the multitudes coming into that kingdom the General Assembly, in order to protect themselves from unworthy persons, applied for a list of all the ministers and probationers belonging to the Presbyterian Church in Ireland; and all who were upon this list were received as "friends and brethren," and entitled, with their own ministers, to settlements in their parishes. From this list, which is



still preserved, it appears that notwithstanding the persecutions they had endured for thirty years the number of congregations had increased to a hundred ; and that there were eighty ministers under the care of five Presbyteries, and eleven probationers ready for settlement. Nearly fifty ministers had taken refuge in Scotland, and were now awaiting the issue of the momentous struggle under the walls of Derry.

During the month of May no event of importance occurred in the progress of the siege, but about the middle of June Major General Kirk, with three ships of war and three regiments of foot, reached Lough Foyle, but were deterred from going up to the city by an exaggerated report of the strength of the enemy's works, and of obstructions in the channel, caused by a boom thrown across the river, although this was not completed for some days later. In the meantime James had sent large reinforcements forward with orders to carry on the siege with vigor, and he himself reached the camp on the 18th. The city now began to suffer from scarcity of provisions, and was harrassed by frequent bombardments. The most inhuman barbarities were practiced by De Rosen, the King's commander, to hasten the surrender of the town. All the Protestant women and children included within ten miles were gathered together under the walls, without food, shelter or protection, until the terms of capitulation which had been dictated should be accepted.

During all these sufferings Kirk with his squadron lay inactive at the anchorage. He did, indeed, on the 10th, land a detachment on the Island of Inch to protect the surrounding county, and had thrown up some temporary works on the strand. On these he planted



sixteen cannon while two five-gun vessels lay in the stream. On the 20th of July Kirk brought up the remainder of his fleet, but news received from Derry soon after caused him to fall back again to Lough Foyle. On the 22d he ordered the vessels, the Mountjoy of Derry, the Phoenix of Coleraine, and the Jerusalem, to take their station off Culmore, out of range of the batteries. And three days after, on board of the Swallow, accompanied by the Dartmouth frigate, he prepared to attempt the passage of the river. For several days they remained in this position on account of unfavorable winds.

In the meantime the garrison was reduced to the last extremity. Every thing in the shape of food, even the most nauseous substances, had been consumed. Their numbers were rapidly diminishing, more than one fourth being unserviceable by famine and fatigue; and what added to their fearful sufferings was a sight of the long expected fleet lying motionless before the town. At length, about six o'clock on Sunday the 28th of July, a light wind sprang up from the northwest and immediately the Dartmouth weighed anchor and stood in towards Culmore. The fort opened a brisk cannonade, which was not answered by the frigate, Captain Leak placing himself within musket shot of the fort, thus allowing the other vessels to pass under shelter of his guns. At this critical moment, although the wind was failing, the Mountjoy passed the fort amidst a heavy fire, accompanied by the long boat of the Swallow, and ran her bows against the boom which obstructed the river, when she grounded, and her gallant commander was at the same moment killed by a musket shot. Favored, however, by the

rising tide, and rebounding from a broadside which she discharged for the purpose, she again floated, and the boatswain's mate of the Swallow's boat, having cut the boom, broke through the barrier, followed by the Mountjoy, reaching the quay, about ten o'clock in the evening, to the inexpressible joy of the famished garrison, who had watched with intense interest the whole action. Two days after the Irish army abandoned their trenches, having lost a hundred officers and between eight and nine thousand men; and on the last day of July this memorable siege terminated, having continued for one hundred and five days.

Two days after, on the 13th of August, the Duke of Schomberg landed in Ireland with ten thousand men, and took possession of Belfast and Carrickfergus, and restored tranquility to Ulster. In consequence of these events, the exiled ministers returned and resumed both their worship and their Presbyterial meetings, and soon after they presented a petition to King William, setting forth their early movements in his favor, and imploring his protection, with particular respect to liberty of conscience. Besides a gracious answer through the Duke of Shrewsbury, the King wrote to Schomberg, recommending them to his protection; and as soon as he arrived in Ulster, a few months later, entered on that course of liberal protection to which the Presbyterian church in Ireland owes so much of its subsequent prosperity.

## CHAPTER XIX.

1690-1701.

THOUGH the Protestants of Ulster were freed from all immediate danger by the presence of Schomberg and his army, they were not satisfied with his proceedings, and were very uneasy as to the result, until it was announced that King William had determined to conduct the war in person. Schomberg, in the meantime, used great diligence in improving the discipline of the army, and providing provisions and arms. About the middle of March, after encountering many difficulties, caused by inefficient agents and unworthy officers, he prepared to advance upon Charlemont, and on the 20th of May that stronghold surrendered. This intelligence reaching London, the King hastened the Parliament in its business, and departed for Ireland, where he arrived on the 14th of June, 1690, and proceeded directly to Belfast. He was welcomed everywhere with expressions of great joy by the Protestant population. The Presbyterians were received by him most graciously, and an order issued to the collector of the customs at Belfast for the regular payment of twelve hundred pounds per annum to the Presbyterian ministers of Ulster, the beginning of the Royal Bounty, or Regium Donum, which they still enjoy.

King William, as he himself said, was determined,



now that he had come to Ireland, not to let the grass grow under his feet; accordingly he took the field at once, and at the head of an army numbering thirty-six thousand, one half of whom at least were foreign refugees, he advanced on the last day of June to the banks of the Boyne; while James, with his forces, to the number of thirty thousand, lay encamped on the opposite side, prepared to dispute the passage. The great battle that settled the quarrel between the two Kings, and decided the destiny of Great Britain, was fought the next morning. The Irish were defeated, with the loss of fifteen hundred men, while the Protestant loss was about five hundred, among whom were Schomberg, said to be the greatest captain of the age, and Governor Walker, who had been appointed Bishop of Derry only the day before. James hurried from the kingdom, never to set foot in it again, and William passed on to Dublin, to receive congratulations on his victory. Among others, the prelatie clergy of the metropolis presented an address, expressive of their loyalty to him and his government. A short time previously, these men had presented an address to King James, conveying similar sentiments; but matters had now altered, and perhaps it was the more prudent plan to provide for their safety at all hazards. Bishop Leslie himself describes many of that party as swearing backwards and forwards four times in a single year.

The Presbyterians at this time constituted by far the larger portion of the Protestant population of Ulster. Bishop Leslie, writing in the year 1692, thus estimates the relative numbers of the two churches:—  
“The Non-Conformists are much the most numerous

portion of the Protestants in Ulster. Some parishes have not ten, some not six, that come to church, while the Presbyterian meetings are crowded with thousands, covering all the fields. This is ordinary, in the county of Antrim especially, which is the most populous of Scots of any in Ulster (who are generally Presbyterians in that county.) In other of the northern counties the Episcopal Protestants bear a greater proportion, some more, some less. But upon the whole, as I have it from those that live upon the place, they are not one to fifty, nor so much, but they would speak within compass."

The first meeting of the Synod (since the general meeting at Ballymena, in 1661,) was held in Belfast, on the 26th of September, 1690, but the minutes of this session are unfortunately lost. From other sources we learn that it was chiefly occupied in deciding cases where more than one application was made for the same minister; in appointing collections for charities; in encouraging young men to enter the ministry; in the exercise of discipline; and in urging the exiled ministers to return from Scotland, nearly fifty of whom were believed to be in that kingdom in the spring of 1689. The next meeting of the Synod was held at Antrim, on the 30th of September, 1691. On that occasion Rev. Thomas Hall, of Larne, preached from Song of Solomon, viii., 12, and John Abernethy, of Moneymore, was appointed moderator. This Synod was principally occupied in considering the great subject of ministerial education, for which the Presbyterian church has always been distinguished, even in the worst of times, and it was unanimously "agreed and concluded that none enter into the ministry with-



out laureation ;" that is, without having gone through a regular course of education, and taken the degree of Master of Arts, in one of the Scottish universities.

After the publication of James' Declaration for liberty of conscience in 1687, the Presbyterians suffered but little molestation either from Church or State, though the laws prohibiting their worship and the meetings of Presbyteries and Synods were still in force ; but after the siege of Derry the spirit of intolerance began to show itself in various places. But an important change in their position was now effected by an act of the English Parliament, passed at the close of the year 1691, abolishing the oath of supremacy in Ireland, and substituting in its place the oath of Fidelity and Allegiance, which had been in force in England since the year 1688. This act having no declaration or engagement oppressive to the consciences of the Non-Conformists, and no sacramental tests attached, (as was the case in England since the year 1673,) the Irish Presbyterians became eligible to all civil, military and municipal offices throughout the kingdom.

On the 5th of October, 1692, after an interval of twenty-six years, the Irish Parliament again commenced its sittings, Lord Sydney being Lord Lieutenant, at which a bill for toleration for Ireland was discussed, but nothing came of it, as the Parliament was soon after suddenly dissolved. But the want of this act of toleration was not practically felt by the Presbyterians. They enjoyed all their religious rights, and the avenues to office being thrown open to them they rose rapidly to influence and power, especially in the large towns. Their intercourse with the Episcopalians was amicable, and although some of the Bishops were



jealous of their growing influence, yet in most instances the ministers united in repairing the disastrous results of the war.

This mutual amity was first violated by the new Bishop of Derry, Dr. William King, who engaged in a controversy with the Presbyterians of his diocese by printing a "Discourse on the Inventions of Man in the Worship of God," in which he turned the tables on the previous opponents of Episcopacy by maintaining that the Presbyterian worship was unlawful and unscriptural, and alleged that the Presbyterian people in general were very inadequately instructed by their ministers in the principles of religion; that the Scriptures were scarcely ever read in their religious assemblies: that few of them attended public worship; that the congregations generally sat at public prayer: and that the Lord's Supper was culpably undervalued and neglected, being celebrated only at very distant intervals. These exaggerated and erroneous statements called forth two antagonists—one, the Reverend Robert Craghead of Derry, the other a still more able and accomplished polemic, the Reverend Joseph Boyse of Dublin. Bishop King replied to Mr. Boyse in an "Admonition" in May, 1694, and in the beginning of the year 1695 Mr. Boyse rejoined, which was followed in about a year by a second admonition from the Bishop, which was answered by Mr. Craghead. The controversy before its conclusion had called forth nine different publications, and had extended over a period of as many years.

While Bishop King was thus censuring the alleged neglect of the Presbyterian ministers and affecting to be most anxious for their reformation, he was employed in

the visitation of an adjoining diocese, which disclosed so many gross offences among the beneficed clergy that one would think his reforming efforts might have been exhausted within the pale of his own church. The diocese of Down and Connor had become a public scandal to the Church in Ulster.

The Bishop had not been within his charge for twenty years, and his clergy had become noted for their unholy lives. Various efforts had been made to remedy the evil, but without success, until October, 1693, when a memorial from the respectable clergy was presented to Lord Sydney, the Lord Lieutenant, praying for speedy redress, which resulted in a commission from the crown of three Bishops, one of whom was King, with power to admonish, suspend and deprive all who were guilty, from the Bishop down to the humblest vicar. This commission met in February, 1694, and resulted in depriving Bishop Hackett of his sees, for simony, non-residence, and gross neglect of his official duties, and sentences of more or less severity were passed upon several of his clergy, among whom was William Milne, who was publicly admonished for intemperance, suspended for neglect of his cure, and deprived for incontinence of life. His history is singular and instructive. He was a Scotch Presbyterian, and had been licensed in Aberdeen as a probationer. In the year 1657 he came over to Ireland, and was ordained by the Presbytery of Antrim, and settled at Islandmagee, near Carrickfergus, and in the following year received the prebend of Kilroot. On the restoration of prelacy he was one of the very few ministers who abandoned the Presbyterian for the Episcopal church. Having stooped to

receive re-ordination from Bishop Jeremy Taylor, he was inducted into the rectory of his former parish, Islandmagee, in March, 1662. Milne was succeeded in his prebend by the celebrated Dean Swift. Of the ministers who conformed at that trying period, the early annalist of the Presbyterian church had remarked that "they turned other men than before," and that they became "worldly and proud."

These salutary acts of discipline, though long delayed, did much to elevate the character of the established church in Ulster, but failed in bringing over the dissenters, as had been expected. In addition to the regular Presbyterians, David Houston had returned to Ireland, preaching the Solemn League and Covenant, accusing other Presbyterians of perjury, and followed (as we learn from two contemporary Bishops) by "a congregation of five hundred resolute fellows." The same prelates urged the appointment of a prudent and well-tempered Bishop in the place of Hackett. Such was the character of Bishop Foley, who did not live a year, however, and was followed by a very different person.

The Protestants of Ireland began now to be divided into an Irish and English party, the distinctive principles of which are not very clearly defined, but which were eventually identified with the English division of Whigs and Tories. One thing is certain, that the Irish party was less favorable than the English to the toleration of the Presbyterians, whose chief protector about this time was Lord Capel, one of the Lords Justices, who differed from his colleagues as to the payment of the Royal Bounty, which they were in favor of withdrawing, and did actually for a time withhold.



A new attempt was now made to procure from Parliament an act extending legal protection to the Presbyterian church. Accordingly Lord Capel submitted to the Irish privy council the draft of an act "for the ease of Protestant dissenters," similar to the one prepared for the Parliament three years before by Lord Sydney. This was opposed by the prelates, headed by Sir Richard Cox, one of the Justices of the Court of Common Pleas, who expressed a desire to grant a free toleration to all; yet, as there was no test in Ireland, it was necessary for the security of the Established Church to exclude all from office who would not conform, and moved that a clause be added to the bill excluding all Presbyterians from public offices, which motion was carried. While this bill was under consideration in the council, the Presbyterians were not inactive: Letters were sent to the different Presbyteries urging them to unite in an application to the King for an act of toleration, and the Presbytery of Lagan sent commissioners to the King, who was at this time conducting the siege of Namur, in Flanders, asking for liberty and for redress of their particular grievances. It was resolved also to urge the same in Parliament, and an able tract in favor of the measure was prepared by Mr. Boyse, already mentioned, entitled "The case of the Protestant Dissenters in Ireland, in reference to a Bill of Indulgence, represented and argued." This led to another written controversy, but on a very different subject from the first, and between different parties, with the exception of Boyse himself.

The first opponent of Boyse was Doctor Tobias Pullen, grandson of the Archbishop of Tuam. It was

published anonymously, and in it he admits the propriety of granting toleration to the Presbyterian Church, but only as a favor which the Episcopalians were willing to grant, "as parents humor their children in giving them things that are pleasing to their palates, though prejudicial to their health." This was followed by another pamphlet by Doctor Anthony Dopping, Bishop of Meath, in which he concedes the propriety of granting the toleration asked for, but on condition that it be accompanied with a sacramental test. These pamphlets appearing nearly at the same time clearly indicated the formation of a party opposed to the liberal intentions of the King and his ministers towards the Presbyterians; and in order to answer the objections raised Mr. Boyse published another pamphlet, in the first part of which he most ably refuted the arguments of Bishop Pullen, and in the latter part, in answer to Bishop Dopping, placed the claims of the Irish Presbyterians to obtain a toleration act free from the sacramental test, in the clearest light.

In the midst of this controversy the Irish Parliament was opened by Lord Capel on the 27th of August, 1695, and on the 24th of September the Earl of Drogheda obtained leave from the House of Lords to bring in "Heads of a bill for ease to dissenters." The opponents of the measure were in full force, out of forty-three Peers, twenty-one of them were Bishops, including King, Pullen and Dopping, and the motion was postponed for one week. At the same time in the Commons a committee recommended the passage of the English Act of Toleration as a law for Ireland, with such alterations as might be necessary to adopt it to the state of the kingdom. This act imposing no

civil disabilities on dissenters was therefore very similar to the proposition before the House of Lords, and after a debate it was postponed and neither were taken up again during the session. The anomalous result was, that the English dissenters enjoyed full liberty of worship under the Act of Toleration, but were excluded from public office by the Test Act; while the Irish could hold office, but were not allowed by law to celebrate their worship.

Lord Capel having died in May, 1696, the government devolved upon Sir Charles Porter, the Lord Chancellor, but he being an opponent of the English government, in order to counteract his influence they constituted him one of the three Lords Justices, the Earls of Montrath and Drogheda being the other two. But Porter dying suddenly in December following, another commission was issued to new Lords Justices, namely, Lord Villiers, the Marquis of Winchester, and Lord Galway, but in reality the government was conducted by the latter. This nobleman was a refugee from France, of the illustrious family of Ruvigny, and a Presbyterian. He had been obliged to fly to Holland at the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, where he met the Prince of Orange, and coming to Ireland with him he distinguished himself at the battle of the Boyne, and was rewarded with the post of Lieutenant General and afterwards received the title of Earl of Galway. Having such a friend as Lord Justice, the Presbyterians were encouraged to make another attempt to obtain a Toleration Act; accordingly a committee of delegates from all the Presbyteries met in Belfast and drew up an address to the King, praying for their "legal liberty." This provoked a renewal



of the controversy as to toleration on the part of Bishop Pullen, and the Reverend Edward Synge, who is memorable chiefly as the son and nephew of bishops, the father of two others and himself afterwards an Archbishop. They were answered not by Boyse, but by the Reverend Thomas M'Bride, a native of Ireland and a successor of the Reverend Patrick Adair at Belfast. This answer being too pointed and effective to remain unnoticed, Mr. Synge replied, disclaiming all intolerant designs and principles, but still opposing the emancipation of the Irish Presbyterians.

When the Parliament again met (July 1697) measures were adopted for the relief of foreign Protestants, with special reference to the French Huguenots, many of whom settled in Ireland after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Of these, some conformed to the Church of England, and adopted a French version of its liturgy ; others retained their Presbyterian discipline and worship, both securing an allowance from the State, which continued to be paid as late as 1822, when there was at least one French minister in Ireland, but without a congregation. The favor thus bestowed on foreign Protestants and Presbyterians seemed to aggravate the hardships of the natives who professed the same faith, and who still demanded legal toleration. The same Parliament proposed to modify the Act of Uniformity, passed in the reign of Elizabeth, and still in force, by exempting from its operations such dissenters as subscribed the declaration substituted at the Revolution for the Oath of Supremacy. But the motion only seemed to show the temper of the House. It was not renewed in the last Parliament of William's reign, 1698, at the close of which the Irish Presbyterians occu-

pied the same position as at the begining, with the single exception that the Oath of Supremacy had been abolished, not by the Irish but the English Parliament.

Dr. Walkington, appointed to succeed Dr. Foley in the see of Down and Connor, was a learned and well-meaning man, but a bigoted High Churchman and opponent of the Presbyterians, for whose suppression in his diocese he formally petitioned. About the same time, a Presbyterian minister settled in Limerick was imprisoned for preaching and administering the sacraments in Galway. The Presbyterians were also harassed in relation to their marriages, which some of the ecclesiastical authorities pronounced invalid, and their children illegitimate. They were also troubled by the imposition of the burial service at their funerals, and of the office of church-warden, under severe penalties, and by the prohibition of all Presbyterian schools and teachers.

But while they were becoming politically more and more powerless their numbers and religious influence were growing in the same proportion. New congregations were continually organized, and in the chief towns of Ulster, such as Londonderry, Coleraine, Belfast, and Carrickfergus, Presbyterians were members of the corporation, and sometimes held the highest municipal offices. Between the years 1694 and 1697 several of the leading ministers died who had been ordained before the Restoration, and had lived through troublous times that followed. Such were Patrick Adair, Thomas Hall, Anthony Kennedy, Henry Livingston, Robert Cunningham, William Crooks, and Thomas Boyd, the two last having endured the horrors

of the siege of Derry. But their places were supplied by active and diligent successors; and the church increased so fast that in 1697 the five original Presbyteries were distributed into two "sub-Synods," which were to meet twice a year, at Coleraine and Dromore, in March and October. At the same time the Presbytery of Antrim was divided, the new body being called the Presbytery of Belfast. This arrangement of six Presbyteries, two sub-Synods, and one General Synod (that of Ulster), continued to the end of William's reign; but in the very first year of Queen Anne's another enlargement was found necessary.

The Presbyterians who were members of the civic corporations began now to be accused of seeking a monopoly of power and influence, by the appointment of their own class exclusively to public offices—an accusation which, although apparently without foundation, was afterwards the pretext for excluding them entirely from corporations.

At the opening of the Synod of Belfast, 1698, the Rev. Mr. McBride preached a sermon, in which he took occasion to assert the right of the Church to hold assemblies of her office-bearers; and that the validity of these meetings did not depend on the sanction of the civil powers. This sermon was published without his knowledge, and was seized upon by the authorities as a grave offense against the jurisdiction of the Established Church, and Mr. McBride was summoned before the Privy Council; but, on hearing his explanations, he was discharged, with no severer censure than an exhortation to keep the peace and treat the authorities with due respect.

This case had hardly been disposed of when one



somewhat similar arose in a remote town of Galway. It appears that some Presbyterian families from Ulster had recently settled there, and had invited the Rev. William Biggar, of Limerick, to preach and administer ordinances among them. This aroused the anger of the Episcopalians, who had him apprehended and brought before the mayor; but on the advice of the Archbishop of Tuam he was liberated, and permitted to return to his charge at Limerick. But soon after he was brought before the Lords Justices, and after being admonished, he was dismissed, and an order given that in future no Presbyterian minister should preach in Galway; and application was made to the King that he would confirm their act. But it is probable that the prohibition against preaching in Galway was removed by the King; for not more than two years after this period there was not only a Presbyterian congregation regularly organized there, but a minister duly ordained to that charge.

The government of Ireland being transferred in 1700 from the three Lords Justices to a Lord Lieutenant, the Earl of Rochester, the general committee of the Synod presented him, through the Presbyterian ministers of Dublin, a congratulatory address, professing their loyalty, asking for protection, and expressing great confidence both in the King and in his representative; to which the latter gave a very brief but favorable answer.

## CHAPTER XX.

1701-1709.

THE increasing troubles of the Presbyterians with respect to marriages led them to present a memorial to the Lord Lieutenant (Earl of Rochester) complaining of their grievances, and asking for a remedy. The Lord Lieutenant, embarrassed with the difficulties of the question, wrote to London for instructions, but could get no satisfactory answer, on account of the absence of the King in Holland. But on the return of the King the subject was brought under his notice, who disapproved of the proceedings against the Presbyterians, and expressed a wish that some expedient might be found for putting a stop to these persecutions, without interfering with the rights of the established Church. The matter seems not to have gone any further at this time, as the Lord Lieutenant soon after returned to England, entrusting the government to the same Lords Justices who had been employed before his arrival, with the addition of two others, who were sworn into office at the end of the year 1701. In the death of King William, in March, the cause of toleration and the interests of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland met with a heavy blow.

No sooner had the news of the King's death reached Bishop King, of Derry, than he wrote to the Bishop of Clogher, who was in London, urging him to move

the government either to withdraw the royal bounty from the Presbyterians, or, if continued, to place it on such a footing as might render the ministers subservient to the government, and might introduce at the same time divisions among them. So anxious was he for the adoption of this mean and disgraceful plan for weakening the Presbyterian cause, that a few days afterwards, in a letter, he pressed it on the notice of Sir Robert Southwell, the Secretary for Ireland. This spirit of intolerance continued to increase among the clergy during the whole of Queen Anne's reign. In the meantime the prosecutions against their marriages were greatly increased, by the indications of a design to suspend the Royal Bounty, which led the Synod of this year, 1702, to complain to the Lords Justices on both these matters. But no redress could be expected when two Bishops were the advisers of the government, one of whom was King, of Derry. With regard to the Royal Bounty, the government believing that it would be inexpedient to withhold it at the present juncture, letters patent were issued, under the great seal of Ireland, constituting thirteen ministers trustees for the distribution of the grant.

The Presbyterian cause continuing to prosper, and the Presbyteries becoming too large for the proper discharge of their duties, it became necessary to remodel the organization, so as to consist of three sub-synods, Belfast, Monaghan, and Lagan, and nine Presbyteries, Antrim, Armagh, Belfast, Coleraine, Convoy, Derry, Down, Monaghan or Stonebridge, and Tyrone or Cookstown. Measures were also taken to require subscription to the Westminster Confession of Faith by every candidate as the confession of his faith. The



Synod of this year resolved that no one should be received as a candidate, unless he had studied four years after having completed his course of philosophy, and afterwards it was added that all young men on trial for the ministry should be able to read the Hebrew psalter, *ad aperturam libri*. Until this time no departure from the doctrines of the Westminster Confession had appeared among the ministers in Ireland, and when, in June of this year, the Rev. Thomas Embryn, one of the ministers in Dublin, was suspected of denying the divinity of Christ, and he, on inquiry, avowing himself an Arian, was immediately deposed. In the spring of the next year he published a temperate defence of his doctrinal views, for which he was indicted for blasphemy, but not at the suggestion of any of the ministers, and after a trial in the Court of Queen's Bench was convicted, and suffered a cruel and unjustifiable imprisonment of more than two years.

Upon the accession of Queen Anne the Tories gained the complete ascendancy in the government, and in 1703 the Parliament passed an act extending the Oath of Abjuration (which declared that James III. had no right or title to the crown) to Ireland, and the Duke of Ormond was appointed Lord Lieutenant, and sent to Ireland for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this statute. This oath was taken by all the Presbyterian ministers in Ireland except six, namely, Mr. M'Bride of Belfast, Alexander M'Cracken of Lisburn, John Riddel of Glenavy, Thomas Sterling of Devrock, Gideon Jacque and Patrick Dunlop, ministers without charge. These non-jurors, as they were called, gave every assurance of their loyalty and allegiance to Queen Anne, but their refusal to take the

oath gave occasion to the High Church party to brand them as Jacobites and disloyal, and to cast the same reproach on the Presbyterians generally.

On the 21st of September the Irish Parliament met, and the High Church party, having a large majority, soon began to indicate their hostility to the Presbyterians. On the 19th of October the committee on public accounts recommended that Messrs. M'Bride and M'Cracken should be struck off the grant of Royal Bounty, for refusing to take the oath of abjuration. This recommendation of the committee was superseded a few days after by a resolution that the Royal Bounty was an unnecessary branch of the establishment; but the government was unwilling to venture upon this bold step. While the ministers escaped these attempts to injure them, a more serious evil, affecting the whole Presbyterian population, was the introduction of those anti-popery laws, which have been the source of so much misery to Ireland, but which are now, happily, repealed. In the early part of the first session, an act was introduced in the form of "Heads of a bill to prevent the further growth of Popery," and was sent to England for the consideration of the Queen and Council. In this form it had been warmly supported by the Presbyterians, but on its return to Ireland, to their great dismay, it was found that an entirely new clause had been introduced by the English ministry, requiring "all persons holding any office, civil or military, or receiving any pay or salary from the crown, or having command or place of trust from the sovereign," to take the sacrament in the Established Church within three months after any such appointment; in other words, it was the imposition of the Sacramental

Test which had so long been the object of the Irish prelates to impose, and which the Presbyterians had so vigorously opposed. All the evidence now extant with regard to the introduction of this clause, proves that it was a deliberately planned scheme of the High Church party, for the purpose of humbling and oppressing the Presbyterians.

On the 14th of February the bill, with the addition of the Sacramental Test, was presented to the Irish House of Commons and read the first time, and three days after it was read a second time, when the leading Romanists petitioned to be heard by counsel against it, which was granted. Accordingly, on the 22d of February, Sir Theobald Bulter delivered a most effective speech, in which he not only proved it to be a manifest breach of the treaty with the Roman Catholics, but pointed out how undeservedly the Presbyterians were treated by the imposition of the Sacramental Test. But the arguments and appeals of counsel were of no avail, the bill passed through the committee, and was reported to the House on the following day, and ordered to be engrossed, and on the 25th of February it was read a third time and sent to the House of Lords, where, after hearing the Romanists by counsel, it was rapidly passed, and received the royal assent on the 4th of March.

During the whole time that this bill was under consideration, the Presbyterians were led to believe that now they would obtain the legal toleration for which they had been so long seeking, but now that the bill was passed all the declarations and promises of toleration were forgotten. The Irish Presbyteries were in a worse position than their brethren in England. No



Presbyterian could henceforth hold any office in the army, navy, customs, excise or post office, courts of law, magistracy of the kingdom, or in the corporation of the towns, without conforming to the established Church. The treatment which they received from government was deeply felt and resented in England, and among their ablest advocates there, was Daniel Defoe, who, although a prisoner in Newgate for his satire entitled "The shortest Way with the Dissenters," took up the pen in their behalf, and early in the year published a pamphlet with the title, "The Parallel ; or Persecution of Protestants the shortest Way to prevent the Growth of Popery in Ireland."

At the reassembling of the Parliament, in 1705, a petition was presented, on the 14th of March, by a few leading Presbyterians who had suffered under the Test clause, exhibiting the unshaken loyalty of the Presbyterian body, and the important services rendered by it to the Protestant religion and the liberties of the empire. They complain of their having been disabled by the Test from executing any public trust for the service of her Majesty, the Protestant religion and their country. They point out the impolicy of dividing the Protestants, while the Romanists were six to one of the entire Protestant population ; and they conclude with praying the House "to order a bill for restoring such a considerable part of the Protestants of this kingdom to a capacity of defending her Majesty's sacred person and government, and the Protestant succession as by law established." After a warm debate whether the petition should be laid upon the table, rejected, or the petitioners be permitted to withdraw it, it was laid upon the table.

This action of the Parliament convinced the Presbyterians that there was no hope for a redress of their grievances from them. And this conviction was strengthened by a renewed attempt to abolish their privilege of celebrating marriages. The Irish government had discouraged the prosecutions in these cases, and the subject was brought before this Parliament and a bill introduced, which was afterwards sent to England, but it was never returned.

During the prosecutions of the ministers for celebrating marriages, the Rev. Mr. M'Bride, of Belfast, published a pamphlet anonymously, entitled, "A Vindication of Marriage as solemnized by Presbyterians in the North of Ireland." This was an able and elaborate defence of their conduct, which was answered flippantly by the Rev. Ralph Lambert, D. D., and afterwards more solidly by Mr. Synge, at that time chaplain to the Duke of Ormond.

These writings of Mr. M'Bride excited the anger of the High Church party against him, and in virtue of a resolution passed by the Commons, prohibiting all nonjuring ministers from preaching or teaching in separate congregations, he was informed against, brought before an Episcopalian minister, who was a magistrate, condemned, and compelled to retire to Scotland, where he was forced to remain for three years, during which time he resided in Glasgow, and was pastor of one of the city churches, and sat as a member of the established Presbytery of Glasgow.

In the midst of all this opposition the church was devoting her energies to the defence and propagation of evangelical truth. A missionary fund was established by the Synod of 1705 for the support of infant

congregations in the south and west of the kingdom, and in the Synod of 1706 a number of laymen and ministers were appointed to solicit subscriptions throughout Ulster for this purpose, and they reported to the next Synod that they had collected about one hundred and ten pounds, with the prospect of more, and with this sum missionary operations were commenced. Missionaries were sent to the scattered and neglected Presbyterians in Galway, Dundalk, Aithlone and other places.

While the Synod was thus enlarging the field of its operation a change was occurring in the political condition of England. The elections for members of Parliament in the summer of 1705 resulted in a large majority for the whig party. This change was first felt in Ireland by the removal of the Duke of Ormond from the Lord Lieutenancy and the appointment of Lords Justices. And in April, 1707, the Earl of Pembroke, a well-known friend of toleration was prevailed upon to undertake the government of Ireland, and accordingly he arrived in Dublin on the 14th of June. The Presbyterians hailed his appointment as a means of relief from the Sacramental Test. On the opening of Parliament on the 7th of July, he expressed the desire of the Queen that in consideration of the number of Papists some expedient might be devised for strengthening the interests of the Protestants in her kingdom. This indication of a desire in the government to remove the evils of the Sacramental Test was unheeded by the Parliament. Indeed, two days before the close of the session, in inquiring into the case of a disputed election in the corporation of Belfast, and discovering that the majority of the burgesses



had ceased to act on account of their not having received the Sacrament in the Episcopal Church, they passed a resolution declaring that the office of burgess was vacated in every case in which the occupant had not qualified by becoming a conformist.

The impolicy of thus disqualifying nearly one-half of the Protestants in Ireland from holding office under the crown became apparent in the following spring, when the French King made an attempt to land the Pretender in Scotland. Great alarm was felt in Ireland and especially in Ulster, and being called out for the defence of the kingdom, many of the Presbyterians refused to be enrolled as bringing them under the Sacramental Test, and exposing them to its penalties if they did not conform. This was therefore considered as a favorable time to make another effort to secure the repeal of the Test. Accordingly Allen Brodrick, Esq., the Speaker of the House of Commons and a friend of toleration, visited England in the spring and brought the matter before the government. The Presbyterians of Ulster forwarded a congratulatory address to the Queen on the deliverance of the kingdom from the threatened danger, and alluded to the loyalty of the Irish Presbyterians through all the former vicissitudes, and reminding her of the disqualifications under which they lay from the Sacramental Test. Counsellor Stevens of Dublin was also dispatched to London, to second the efforts of Brodrick, but on their arrival they found that the English Parliament had been dissolved, and although the new Parliament still possessed a majority of Whigs nothing was accomplished.

Lord Pembroke, having been appointed by the

Queen Lord High Admiral, resigned his government in Ireland and was succeeded by the Earl of Wharton, long a leader of the Presbyterian interest in England. This appointment gave great encouragement to the Presbyterians, and at the same time excited the High Church party to renewed efforts lest the Sacramental Test should be abolished. A new champion appeared at this period in their defence, the celebrated Dean Swift, who published anonymously his first tract in support of the Sacramental Test, entitled, "A Letter from the House of Commons in Ireland to a member of the House of Commons in England, concerning the Sacramental Test." In this pamphlet, full of sarcasm and irony, he denounces the Irish Presbyterians as the most formidable foes of the Established Church, and declares that more danger is to be apprehended from them than from the Romanists.

Immediately following this, another tract of far inferior ability, appeared from the pen of the Reverend William Tisdall, vicar of Belfast. This tract appeared anonymously in the spring of 1709, in which the author attempts to prove that the Presbyterians were wholly unworthy of relief or toleration.

During these attacks upon the Presbyterians the Earl of Wharton reached Dublin, and was sworn into office at the close of April. He was accompanied by the celebrated Joseph Addison as private secretary, who was also a member of the Irish House of Commons, elected from the borough of Cavan. On the 5th of May he opened the Parliament with a speech, in which he alluded to the preponderance of the Romanists over the Protestants, and while advising further severities against the former he recommended the cul-

tivation of a spirit of union among the latter. In the answer of the Commons to this speech they admitted the claims of the Presbyterians to toleration, but were silent as to the Test Act, which they knew was the only point to which Lord Wharton referred. In the House of Lords, composed of ten laymen and twelve Bishops, at the head of whom was King, an amendment in favor of toleration was summarily rejected, and in contempt of notorious facts they boldly assured the Lord Lieutenant that "all our fellow-subjects are treated with so much tenderness that we hope they never will have just reason to complain of any uneasiness."

No further effort was made in this Parliament towards the abolition of the Sacramental Test, which seems to have chagrined the Lord Lieutenant; and in his closing speech he once more calls the attention of Parliament to the subject of the test in these pointed terms: "I make no question but that you understand too well the true interest of the Protestant religion in this kingdom not to endeavor to make all such Protestants as easy as you can who are willing to contribute what they can to defend the whole against the common enemy."



## CHAPTER XXI.

1709-1714.

THROUGH the influence of the Lord Lieutenant the Presbyterians of Ulster enjoyed comparative freedom. Their congregations had become so numerous, now numbering one hundred and thirty, that it was inconvenient for their ministers and elders to meet in one Synod, and accordingly at the meeting of Synod, in 1708, it was proposed to make it a delegated body. This proposition was more freely discussed in the next Synod, but was strongly opposed by a number of ministers and elders, who drew up a protest against the constitutional change, which led to the postponement, and finally the abandonment of the measure.

Although during this period the Presbyterians generally were not molested in their labors, yet in a few instances this was not the case. In the town of Drogheda there had been a non-conforming congregation, with an uninterrupted succession of ministers, from the time of Cromwell until 1688 ; but during the long occupation of the town by the forces of King James the congregation had been dispersed. After the accession of King William the Presbyterian inhabitants had called upon the neighboring ministers for their assistance, and latterly had applied to the Synod to send them supplies until they should be able to support a settled minister. In answer to this appeal the Synod,

in 1708, directed the Presbytery of Armagh to send them such supply, and the Rev. James Fleming was appointed. But the day after his first service, at the instigation of Dean Cox, the Episcopal minister of the town, he was cited before the mayor and council and threatened with legal proceedings unless he should desist. Undismayed by these threats, he preached on the next Sabbath, for which he was brought again before the authorities and bound over to stand his trial for a riot and unlawful assembly. The next minister who preached to the people was the Rev. William Bigger, who had been treated in the same way ten years before, for the same cause in Galway. On Sunday, the 3d of October, he preached in a private house, which coming to the ears of Dean Cox, he procured a certificate from the Bishop of Armagh, stating that Mr. Bigger was not licensed to preach in his diocese, which being presented to the mayor, he committed him to prison for three months, and refused to release him except upon condition that the attempt to form a Presbyterian congregation in Drogheda should be abandoned. After an imprisonment of six weeks he was released. These efforts to crush the congregation of Drogheda proved ineffectual; and soon after the Rev. Hugh Henry received a call, and in March was installed as pastor, where he officiated for more than thirty years.

Soon after these troubles at Drogheda the Rev. John Campbell, an Episcopal minister residing near Antrim, sent a challenge to all the Presbyterian ministers whom he knew to be authors, such as Boyse, M'Bride and Craghead, to produce a warrant from Scripture for Presbyters ordaining or ruling without a bishop. Not

content with sending it to private ministers he, by the hands of three Episcopal ministers, sent a formal copy to the moderator of the Synod at Belfast, in 1610, to be laid before the assembled ministers of the province. The letters which Campbell sent to the different ministers were shortly answered by them. At the close of the year Campbell published a reply, under the title of "Mr. Campbell's Letter to a Parishioner." This brought out the Rev. Thomas Gowan, minister of Drumbo, in a pamphlet, in which he made an elaborate examination of the whole question, upon which Mr. Campbell retired discomfited from the field.

The established Church did not entirely neglect the interests of the Roman Catholics. Since the days of Bedell little had been done for the instruction of the native Irish ; but in 1609 the subject was taken up in a convocation of the established clergy, and many important measures recommended for their instruction in the vernacular, and at the convocation of 1611, a number of ministers devoted themselves to this work ; but their plans were defeated by the prejudice excited by the anti-popery laws, and the apathy of the Bishops and most of the clergy.

In 1610 the Synod of Ulster took up the same subject, and determined to carry on this noble work with vigor. On the 1st of May, in this same year, was established the "General Fund," for the purpose of supporting religion in Dublin and the south of Ireland, and assisting dissenting ministers and congregations who were unable to provide for themselves ; and for many years, by means of this fund, the preaching of the gospel was introduced and maintained among



many dissenting communities in the southern part of the kingdom.

In May, 1610, the Earl of Wharton again returned to Ireland and assumed the reins of government, and on the assembling of Parliament soon after he once more recommended union among Protestants; but although it sat until August nothing was effected towards the removal of the Sacramental Test. Soon after he returned to England and found a change of administration taking place, which ultimately involved the Presbyterians in Ireland in very serious trouble. The Queen had transferred the government from the Whigs to the Tories. And in the month of October the Duke of Ormond was again appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in place of Wharton, and until he could go himself he committed affairs to the Primate and the commander of the forces, as Lords Justices. This change of government was the signal for fresh persecutions of the Dissenters in Ireland. Their first act was, (through two High Church magistrates near Belfast,) to issue warrants for the three non-juring ministers in that neighborhood, M'Bride, Bedell and M'Cracken. The two former concealed themselves, and afterwards escaped to Scotland. M'Cracken was taken, but through the connivance of Dr. Smith, Bishop of Down and Connor, escaped from the custody of the constable, and took refuge in Castle Kennedy, in Scotland; and in March, 1711, proceeded to London, and laid his case before the government. He was favorably received by the Duke of Ormond and the Earl of Oxford, who promised to consider the question of the abolition of the Sacramental Test, and give him an answer. Encouraged by these promises, he transmitted

a favorable account of his visit to London, to the Synod which met at Belfast in June.

On the 2d of July the Duke of Ormond reached Ireland, and almost immediately removed from his seat Lord Chief Justice Brodrick, the warm friend of the Presbyterians, and other Whig judges. At the opening of the Parliament he made no reference to the case of the Dissenters ; but in his address to the Queen he stated that "all her Majesty's subjects in Ireland equally participated in her justice and favor." The Whigs made objections to this statement as being untrue, as the Sacramental Test excluded one-half of the Protestants in Ireland from her service ; but the amendment which they proposed to this part of the address was lost by an overwhelming majority. In the House of Lords, three days before the adjournment, the case of the Dissenters was introduced, and committed to thirteen Bishops, headed by Archbishop King, and eleven laymen, who on the next day submitted to the House a Representation relating to dissenting ministers. It presented a long catalogue of alleged grievances which the Episcopal Church and her unprotected members were enduring at the hands of the highly favored Presbyterians of Ireland ! They therefore suggest that the only method of putting "a stop to these growing evils" would be the withdrawal of the Royal Bounty. This Representation, as false as it was unjust and undignified, was transmitted to the Queen, and ordered to be printed in a separate form and distributed among the people. On the closing day of this session the Lords directed a volume of Mr. Boyse's sermons, just published, to be burned in Dublin by the common hangman, on the ground that "it was false and scandalous,

and contained matters highly reflecting on the legislation of the country and on the Episcopal order."

This example of the House of Lords was imitated by the convocation of the clergy, which, happily for Ireland and the peace of their own Church, has never been permitted by the Crown to hold another meeting. The paper which they drew up on the subject of Dissenters was published for distribution, in the form of a pamphlet.

The Presbyterians, seeing the storm which these publications was raising, prepared, through a committee of Synod, a vindication of themselves against these calumnies, and dispatched Mr. Iredell, of Dublin, to lay it before the Queen. A separate paper was drawn up on the 1st of January, 1712, in answer to the address of the convocation, and sent to Mr. Iredell, in London. These papers were laid by him before the Queen, and were afterwards published in a valuable tract, entitled, "The Present State of Religion in Ireland."

The convocation, in their hostility to all classes of Dissenters in Ireland, did not overlook the French refugees, and they were required to conform on the ignorant and false pretense that their own church was Episcopal, not Presbyterian.

In the spring of 1712, Doctor Tisdall again appeared before the public in a pamphlet against the Dissenters, through the whole of which there runs such a disregard of truth, and such a malignant and persecuting spirit as is almost unexampled even in that age of unscrupulous partisanship.

The circulation of these inflammatory papers excited fresh feelings of bitterness against the Presbyterians. Sir Constantine Phipps, the Lord-Chancellor, into



whose hands the principle direction of government had fallen since the departure of the Duke of Ormond at the end of the previous year, appointed to office none but thorough partisans of his own intolerant policy. . But in the county of Antrim, finding but few among the aristocracy disposed to support his views, he was obliged to appoint to the office of High Sheriff those who had served before. Thus in the year 1711, 1712 he was under the necessity of taking Mr. Westenra Waring of Belfast, who had six years before held the office, who was deeply in debt and was soon after compelled to secrete himself from his creditors. In the following year he appointed to the same office Mr. Brent Spencer, who had been sheriff in 1704; both of these had in former years been most officious against the Presbyterians. These were followed by Robert Green of Belfast, father-in-law of Mr. Waring, and not inferior to him in his opposition to the Dissenters. The influence of these men greatly aggravated the difficulties of the Presbyterians, so that the three nonjuring ministers were for the third time obliged to fly to Scotland.

Since the oath of abjuration had been imposed and taken by the ministers of the province, others had been ordained who had not yet complied with the act; accordingly the Synod, which met at Belfast in June, advised all the ministers if they had clearness so to do to take the oath as soon and in as private a way as they can, viz: in one of the four courts of Dublin, and those who had not this "clearness" were directed to advise with their brethren so as to have their scruples removed. At this meeting of Synod Mr. Iredell gave a statement of his visit to London, and his interview

with the Earl of Oxford and others, but reported that he could get no promises from them, although they expressed sympathy for their condition and held out hopes of ultimate relief. Soon after this meeting, Mr. McCracken, one of the nonjuring ministers, proceeded from Galloway, where he had taken refuge, to London, but his visit resulted in no good.

An incident occurring about this time will show the state of feeling existing in Ulster against the Dissenters. At the Synod of this year, a paper emanating from the Presbyterians of Dublin was circulated among the members, calling their attention to prevalent sins, and the necessity for public and private reformation, and proposing that all should engage in fervent prayer from seven to eight o'clock every Tuesday morning, in order to avert from the nation threatened judgments. This paper falling into the hands of the vicar of Belfast, and appearing to him to be filled with disloyal and seditious sentiments, he sent a copy to Lord Chancellor Phipps, together with an alarming account of the number of ministers and elders who attended this Synod. The Lord Chancellor immediately dispatched it to Mr. Southwell, the Secretary for Ireland, then in London, with the request that it might be laid before the Queen, but the Secretary seeing nothing in it to justify alarm took no notice of the request. Not to be turned aside from his purpose the Chancellor immediately wrote to Lord Harcourt, the keeper of the great seal in England, repeating what he had said to Southwell. But all these efforts to incite the English administration against the Presbyterians proved ineffectual. Towards the close of this year Dr. Tisdall published another charac-

teristic pamphlet, promising to continue the subject at a future time.

The state of party feeling is still further exhibited in an incident resulting from the action of the Synod of this year. The Reverend Robert Darragh of Monaghan, on account of drunkenness and other irregularities, was in 1710 suspended from the ministry by the Presbytery of Monaghan. This sentence he treated with contempt, preaching and administering the Lord's Supper to those who adhered to him. The Synod in 1711, after an investigation of the matter, ordered Mr. Darragh to submit to the sentence of the Presbytery, or in case of refusal they were to proceed to his deposition, which they were ultimately constrained to do. Darragh appealed to the Synod of 1712, who confirmed his deposition. Indignant at this action he procured from the court of Queen's Bench a summons against the ministers, directed to Mr. Kirkpatrick, the moderator of the Synod. We have no record of the result of these proceedings.

Soon after this the Presbytery of Monaghan was brought into serious difficulty while in the exercise of its ordinary functions. They had assembled in the town of Belturbet, in the county of Cavan, for the purpose of giving sanction to the Presbyterians there in building a new house of worship. During their meeting a numerous body of the established clergy, with the justices of the peace of the district, assembled, and procured the arrest of the whole Presbytery, who were bound over to appear for trial for holding an unlawful and riotous assembly. This bold and novel procedure created great consternation and alarm throughout Ulster. Accordingly, the committee of the Synod met at An-



trim, and dispatched Mr. Kirkpatrick to lay the case before the Lords Justices; but meeting with no encouragement, Mr. Iredell was once more sent to London, and so far succeeded in his mission that instructions were sent over to the Lords Justices directing them, in case an indictment was found by the grand jury against the Presbytery, the case should be removed to the court of Queen's Bench, in order to be freed from local prejudices. This was accordingly done, and in April they appeared in Dublin to stand their trial. On the day before the trial they presented a memorial to the Lords Justices, in which, according to a report sent by them to the Lord Lieutenant, they declared that they had no intention of erecting a meeting house in the town; and that since the complaint was made they had prevailed upon the people to remove it a mile further from Belturbet than it was before. The Lords Justices, therefore, in their dispatch advised, in view of the prudent behavior and submissive spirit of the ministers, the proceedings should be carried no further; and accordingly, by direction of the Duke of Ormond, an order was issued to that effect.

In the conclusion of this dispatch the Lords Justices touch upon another topic, which shows that the Representation of the House of Lords and the calumnies of Dr. Tisdall had led them to believe that their missionary operations were carried on by means of the Royal Bounty, and not by funds collected from the churches. Under this erroneous impression they recommended that the Royal Bounty should be limited to the Presbyterian ministers in the north of Ireland.

Mr. McBride, while living in exile in Scotland, published anonymously an answer to Tisdall's first two

pamphlets. As a counterpart to the ironical title of the former of these he entitled his work "A Sample of Jet-black Prelatic Calumny, in Answer to a Pamphlet called 'A Sample of True-blue Presbyterian Loyalty, etc.'" This work contains but little information of the history of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, being principally a defence of the English and Scottish Presbyterians, with one or two valuable documents, and a few important details not elsewhere to be found. Soon after the publication of this work Mr. McBride ventured to return to Belfast, and was soon followed by McCracken and Riddel, who found on their arrival their brethren still suffering from the intolerant spirit of the High Church party.

During these distracting times the Synod continued to exercise vigilance in discipline, and in the examination of candidates. They also turned their attention again to the subject of providing a History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland. The compilation of the late Rev. Patrick Adair of Belfast still remained unpublished, although several ministers had been successively appointed to complete it. It was brought before Synod by an overture from the sub-synod of Belfast, the preamble to which will express their views respecting it: "Whereas an history of this Church were very desirable, and all attempts at writing it have proved unsuccessful, which, as we humbly conceive, is chiefly owing to two causes, viz.: [First], want of due care to preserve public papers that have been drawn up in this Church, and neglecting to collect them into a book; and [secondly] not giving due assistance to those brethren to whom the compiling of the said history was committed. And whereas Mr. John McBride was

the person to whom it was last committed by the General Synod, we overture," etc. The Synod approved of this proposal, reappointed Mr. McBride to the work, and appointed Rev. John Kirkpatrick to assist him. This arrangement for completing the history of the Church was not more successful than the preceding ones; and this important and deeply interesting subject continued to be neglected, and almost totally forgotten, for more than a century afterwards.

But though this effort failed to secure a history of the Church, yet not long after the Rev. Mr. Kirkpatrick, who had long been collecting materials to defend his brethren from the charges made against them, published a volume containing nearly six hundred closely printed quarto pages, entitled, "An Historical Essay upon the Loyalty of Presbyterians in Great Britain, from the Reformation to the present year, 1713." This work was published anonymously, and contains but little information on the history of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland.

The nonjuring ministers were still subject to great annoyances from the local authorities, in the midst of which a change took place in the government of Ireland, the Duke of Ormond, who had not been in Ireland since the year 1711, being succeeded by the Duke of Shrewsbury, a nobleman of moderate views and conciliatory temper. He arrived in Dublin on the 27th of October, and immediately entered upon the duties of his office. He was soon after waited upon by a deputation of Presbyterian ministers, who stated their grievances, and their inclination to emigrate to America, where they might enjoy liberty of conscience.

On the 26th of November the Duke of Shrewsbury



opened the Parliament with the usual address, in which, instead of containing any hint of toleration, he suggested that additional severities might possibly be laid upon the Dissenters. And in the addresses of the House of Lords to the Queen, and to the Lord Lieutenant, they speak very plainly of the course they are willing to pursue against Dissenters, and especially in regard to the nonjuring ministers. This address stirred up again the opposition against these brethren, and Mr. M'Cracken was seized and imprisoned; but it was most difficult to find witnesses willing to testify that M'Cracken was a preacher of a separate congregation, which was necessary to conviction. He was finally convicted, and condemned to pay a fine of five hundred pounds, and to be committed to prison for six months.

Tisdall judging this to be a favorable opportunity, published another pamphlet, in which he takes no notice of the complete refutation of his former works by Mr. Kirkpatrick. This was indeed his invariable policy, to refrain from noticing the replies which his accusations had elicited, and to reassert them in all respects unimpeached and unimpeachable.

The Synod in June of this year feeling constrained to notice the misrepresentations which had been published against them, and the grievances to which they were still exposed, published an "Act recommending Prayer in Congregations and Families for her Majesty Queen Anne, and the serene George Lewis, Duke of Brunswick-Lunenbourg, and the Succession to the Crown in the illustrious House of Hanover; and against the Pretender, and against all his secret and open abettors." But in the meantime Archbishop King had been success-

ful in his long cherished scheme, and the Royal Bounty was altogether withdrawn from the Presbyterians. The troubles in regard to their marriages were also renewed, and the Synod, when called upon for advice by persons who had been married by Presbyterian ministers, gave it as their unanimous opinion that they should not remarry in the Episcopal Church, but rather stand the suits which were threatened. The Synod, also, at this time again dispatched Mr. Iredell to London, to obviate any misrepresentation of their principles, and to ask for a redress of their grievances. At the same meeting the Synod determined to take steps for ascertaining how many of their people were ready to take up arms for the Protestant succession, in case any resistance should be offered to the accession of the Elector of Hanover; and the result showed that no fewer than fifty thousand men, with officers, were prepared, when called on, to venture their all in his support.

In England, under the lead of Bolingbroke, matters were assuming a very serious aspect. In the new House of Commons the Tories had an overwhelming majority. A bill introduced for the exclusion of all Dissenters from the office of teachers, and compelling all schoolmasters to conform to the Established Church, intended at first only for England, was, by the introduction of a clause, extended to Ireland. The news of the passage of this act reaching Ireland, the zeal of the High Church party was greatly inflamed. An address to the Queen from the grand jury of the county of Antrim, expressing their satisfaction, was carried through the country to be signed by all the High Church gentry. In various parts of the province the Presbyterians were exposed to gross insult, their cate-

chisms and other books offered for sale were seized, and the doors of some of their churches were nailed up. But, happily for the peace of Ulster, these intolerant proceedings were suddenly checked by the death of the Queen on the 1st of August—the very day, by a singular coincidence, on which the schism bill, as it was called, came into operation.



## CHAPTER XXII.

1714–1719.

THE accession of George I. restored the Whigs and Low Church party to power. This change in the government was received with different feelings by the various parties among the Irish Protestants. The High Church party felt that their power was prostrated, while the Low Church (with some misgivings among the prelates of that party) considered it as a barrier against the Pretender and the Romanists; but in the Presbyterians it excited the most confident hopes of receiving that justice which they had so long sought.

George I. was proclaimed with joy and triumph in all the principal towns in Ulster, in the month of August. In September, two of the Lords Justices were superseded and others appointed in their place, one of whom, Archbishop King, was the bitter foe of the Presbyterians. At the close of this month the Earl of Sunderland was appointed Lord Lieutenant, in the place of the Duke of Shrewsbury, but he never came over to Ireland.

The government being settled, the Irish Presbyterians laid their usual complaints before the King and ministry in London, asking for a repeal of the Sacramental Test; for legal protection for their worship and

government; and for a restoration and increase of the Royal Bounty. In asking for legal protection in their worship it became necessary for them to decide whether they would subscribe to the thirty-nine articles, excepting those which related to discipline; and at a meeting of the Synod's committee on the 10th of November, called to consider this question, as might have been expected, some were found opposed to the subscription, as required by the English Act of Toleration; but as an expression of what they were willing to do, it was resolved, "That the first thing we shall propose and insist upon as the terms on which we will accept of a toleration shall be, upon our subscribing the Westminster Confession of Faith." There were at this time a few ministers in Dublin and the south of Ireland who had been educated among the English Dissenters, who were averse to subscribing to the Westminster Confession, and to meet the scruples of these brethren, though none of them were present at the meeting at Antrim, a special formula was prepared as a substitute, in case subscription to the former should not be accepted by the government. Indeed, it was afterwards surmised that this step was taken at the instigation of some northern ministers, who afterwards openly avowed their opposition to the Westminster Confession.

At the beginning of the next year, Colonel Clotworthy Upton of Templepatrick, and Mr. Iredell of Dublin, commissioners appointed by the Synod's committee in Antrim, proceeded to London, and at the suggestion of their English friends drew up a representation of their grievances, which, when translated into French, (the King not being acquainted with Eng-

lish,) was presented to the King, who seemed sensibly concerned by its contents, and while denying some of their requests promptly renewed the grant of the Royal Bounty, with the promise of an increase in the amount.

At the annual meeting of the Synod at Antrim, the commissioners reported the result of their mission to London, which greatly encouraged them in their work. Their missionary operations were reported as being highly successful, many new congregations having been gathered; but to guard against their unnecessary multiplication, certain rules were prepared as a guide in future; and for the punctual observance of them and others it was ordered that the minutes of each Synod should be furnished to each Presbytery by the Synod's clerk and read publicly before the Presbyteries, and that all such rules and orders as related to their own affairs should be inserted in their minutes; and the sub-synods were charged, when revising the books of the several Presbyteries under their care, to see that this order was fully obeyed.

At this meeting, while considering the state of religion in the provinces, a paper was submitted by a committee entitled, "An Enquiry into the State of Religion, the Causes of its Present Decay, with some Proposals for Reviving it." This paper, which was altogether practical and sound in its doctrine, unexpectedly excited an opposition in some, who looked upon it as underating the forms of worship prevalent among the Presbyterians, and dealing too leniently with the rites and usages of the Established Church, and it was withdrawn without receiving the sanction of the Synod.



The kingdom was now in a very critical state. The extreme views of the High Church party were boldly proclaimed, and even in Dublin college disloyal toasts were publicly drunk, and seditious writings circulated; so that, on the advice of Archbishop King, the election for fellows and scholars was by the Crown postponed for this year. The adherents of the Pretender had begun to bestir themselves in England; and confidential agents from France were endeavoring to excite the people, both in Scotland and Ireland, to declare in his favor; and in June the King announced to the English Parliament that certain intelligence had been received of an intended invasion by the Pretender, and measures were taken to provide against it. In Ireland the Lords Justices made vigorous efforts to place the country in a state of defence; especially was this the case in Ulster, where it was supposed the first attempted landing would be made.

The Presbyterian Church was at this time placed in a very embarrassing position by the proposal to call out the militia of the province in defence of the Crown. If they entered the militia in any capacity they exposed themselves to the penalties of non-conformity under the Sacramental Test; if they refused to enter they exposed themselves to the charge of basely deserting their sovereign and their country in the time of danger. In this dilemma a meeting of gentlemen from various parts of the province was called, to assemble in Belfast the first week in August, to consider what course they should adopt in the present emergency. At this meeting they determined to defend their religion and their liberties at all hazards, and to brave the penalties of the law, looking to government for future protec-

tion. This determination was dispatched to the English government, with a letter from William Conolly, Esq., a member of Parliament from the county of Derry, in which he advised that the proposals of the Protestant Dissenters be accepted, and concludes—“They want arms and ammunition in the north, and when they are supplied they will be able to make a noble stand against the Pretender and all his adherents.” This advice was immediately acted upon, and an assurance given that at an early meeting of the Irish Parliament steps would be taken to protect the Presbyterian officers and soldiers from the penalties of the Test Act.

Affairs in Ireland at this time requiring great wisdom in the rulers the government superseded the Lords Justices then acting, in order to appoint more experienced and energetic men in their room. And accordingly, on the 6th of September, the Duke of Grafton and the Earl of Galway, a general in the army, were appointed, and on the 1st of November were sworn into office. On the opening of the Parliament on the 12th the Whigs were again largely in majority in the House of Commons, and Mr. Conolly, the friend of toleration, was elected Speaker. On the 15th, pursuant to the promises held out to the Presbyterians, a bill was introduced for the protection of the Dissenters who were serving in the army; and while it was under discussion Dr. Tisdall, for the purpose of defeating it, published another violent pamphlet, which appeared towards the close of November; but, notwithstanding his sophistries and calumnies, on the 4th of February, 1716, the bill finally passed, and was laid before the Lords Justices to be transmitted to London.

As soon as the Bishops received intelligence that this bill had been placed in the hands of the Lords Justices, led on by Archbishop King, they took steps for the defeat of even the partial relief from the Test Act which it granted to Dissenters. Accordingly, on the 6th of February, they introduced into the House of Lords a similar bill, but omitting altogether the clause relating to the test, which was passed by that body. The Lords Justices, embarrassed by this action, submitted both bills to a committee of the Irish Privy Council, for the purpose of having one bill made out of the two, which they might transmit to England. At the same time, being desirous to preserve the clause as it stood in favor of the Presbyterians, and knowing the pertinacity with which the Bishops would adhere to their own bill, they applied to the ministry in England for permission to compromise the differences between the two Houses by continuing the exemption from the test to those serving in the regular army during the existing rebellion only, and from thence to the close of the next session of Parliament. This permission being granted, the subject was brought before the Committee of the Council. The clause in dispute consisted of three parts: first, to indemnify the Dissenters for having acted in the militia as officers; the second to make them capable of serving in the militia forever; and the third to enable them to bear commissions in the army for ten years. After some debate the limitation, as proposed by the Lords Justices was submitted to the whole council, and carried by one majority. It was immediately transmitted to England, and returned with the sanction of the Crown; but in what form, whether with or without the clause, can not now be



ascertained. But when presented to the Irish Parliament again in June, after passing through two readings, it was, for some unaccountable reason, dropped, and the Test Act remained in full force against the Presbyterians.

Great vigilance now became necessary on account of the arrival of the Pretender, who had landed in Scotland, at Aberdeen, at the close of the year. Accordingly, the Lords Justices issued proclamations, requiring the seizure of all suspected persons, and the exercise of great watchfulness, in order to prevent any movement in his favor. These orders were strictly executed, especially in the north, where the adherents of the Earl of Antrim, then in prison in Dublin as a disaffected person, had already attempted to effect a rising. During this excitement the Rev. John Porter, a Presbyterian minister, happening to be present at the searching of the house of an Episcopal clergyman, was, at the instigation of Dr. Tisdall, arrested, on the grounds that he and the Presbyterians were, as a body, taking advantage of the public alarm to injure the Episcopalians, by searching their houses in a malicious and irregular manner. This case was brought before the grand jury and the court, and Porter was unanimously acquitted. At the same meeting of the court Mr. M'Cracken, who had been a prisoner for nearly two years and a half, was liberated, broken down in body and mind by his persecutions.

The bill in favor of the Presbyterians having been abandoned, it became necessary for those who had entered the militia and army to decide what further course to pursue. Accordingly, a meeting of gentlemen was held in June, and resolved that those who held

commissions should continue in the service, and that if any were prosecuted on this account, the expense of such prosecution should be defrayed by the whole, and that at the proper time application for relief should be made.

The resolutions, of which the above is the substance, were laid before the Synod which met in Belfast on the 19th of June, and were approved by them. This Synod was the largest one that had ever convened in Ireland, consisting of one hundred and ten ministers, and eighty elders. This numerous attendance was occasioned by the action which was anticipated in reference to the terms on which application was to be made to government for a Toleration Act. The resolutions which were adopted in 1714 had proceeded from a private source, and it became necessary for some action to be taken by the Supreme Court of the Church. The first step of the Synod was to consider the two resolutions which had been formerly agreed to. The first of them, laying down subscriptions to the Westminster Confession, as the ground on which they sought toleration, was unanimously adopted. And the second resolution, or the alternative, was also adopted with a slight amendment. This subject being disposed of, the Synod adopted an address to the King, congratulating him on the defeat of the Pretender and the suppression of the late rebellion.

The Presbyterians having failed in securing the removal of the Test, were nevertheless greatly encouraged by the action of the House of Commons, who to neutralize, so far as lay in their power, the triumph of the Bishops, resolved, *nemine contradicente*, "That such of his Majesty's Protestant dissenting subjects as have

taken commissions in the militia, or acted in the commission of array, have hereby done a seasonable service to his Majesty's royal person and government and the Protestant interest in this kingdom." This resolution was fortified by another, which was passed without a division, in the face of the High Church opposition: "Resolved, That any person who shall commence a prosecution against any Dissenter who has accepted or shall accept a commission in the army or militia, is an enemy to King George and the Protestant interest, and a friend to the Pretender." The Presbyterians, thus protected by the House of Commons, their endowments restored and freedom of religious action practically enjoyed, were enabled to prosecute their work with more vigor.

In the Synod the project of preaching to the Irish in their native tongue, which had been interrupted by political troubles, was again under consideration, and it was resolved unanimously to encourage this excellent design. Ministers understanding the Irish language were appointed to preach in succession in various districts, schools were erected, and orders given for printing new editions of the catechism, and a short grammar, in the Irish tongue. The Synod, in 1717, receiving such a favorable report from the ministers engaged in this service, adopted a resolution to continue the work which had been so signally blessed. In carrying out, during the previous year, the plans for Irish preaching, it was found that two of the frontier Presbyteries, within whose bounds were the greatest number of Romanists speaking the Irish language, consisted of too many congregations; and that their members were so widely scattered as to render it difficult for



them to fulfil their Presbyterianial appointments. They therefore divided each of these Presbyteries into two. Out of Monaghan was formed Augher and Longford, but six years afterward they were reunited ; and Convoys was divided into the Presbyteries of Strabane and Letterkenny. There were, therefore, now eleven Presbyteries, having under their care one hundred and forty congregations, twenty of which were aided by the missionary funds.

While the Presbyteries were thus engaged in diffusing the truth they renewed their efforts to secure their legal rights. The plans of government were as yet in such an unsettled state that they deemed it inexpedient to bring the subject before the Irish Parliament, but at a meeting of laymen and ministers from all parts of the county, held at Newry, a deputation, consisting of the Reverend Messrs. Boyse and Choppin, and Mr. Walter Stevens of Dublin, and the Reverend Samuel Haliday from the north, were sent to London ; who on their return reported the gratifying fact that the King, in concurrence with his ministers, had placed on the civil list for England, the sum of eight hundred pounds a year, as an augmentation of the Royal Bounty, to be paid quarterly, commencing at the end of the current year. One-half of this sum was to be paid to the Synod of Ulster, and the other half to the ministers in Dublin and the south.

During the year 1719, the missionary operations of the Synod were in a highly prosperous condition, They were cheered by expressions of sympathy, and by donations and legacies from England. Publications in the Irish language were freely circulated ; the number of ministers preaching in that language was greatly

increased, and their political concerns seemed for a time to be forgotten in their zeal for the propagation of the gospel.

The Synod of 1719 had just concluded its sittings in Belfast when the Irish Parliament commenced theirs in Dublin, being opened by the Duke of Bolton, the present Lord Lieutenant. Soon after their opening, the draft of a bill for the relief of the Irish Dissenters was received from England. This liberal-minded policy of the King was coldly received by the Lord Lieutenant, but being obliged to do something for the relief of the Presbyterians, leave was obtained in the Commons on the 4th of July to introduce the heads of a bill "for rendering the Protestant Dissenters more capable of supporting the Protestant interests of the kingdom." The several clauses of this bill were not fully settled, but referred to the Presbyterian members of the House to say what was the precise amount of relief they claimed. This step alarmed the High Church party, and on the 6th they brought in a counter bill, embracing nothing more than a bare toleration for dissenting worship. This bill was advocated by the son of Lord Chancellor Brodrick, the chief law officer of the Crown in the House of Commons, which was a pretty significant indication of the lukewarmness of the Irish officials in carrying out the policy of their Sovereign. On the 14th of July the Commons went into committee on this High Church bill, and after voting down many amendments which were offered for the relief of Dissenters, it was passed, and according to the usual course of Irish legislation was brought before the Lord Lieutenant and Council to be



adjusted in its details before being transmitted to England.

In the discussion of this bill in the Privy Council Archbishop King made every effort to have some clauses inserted still further curtailing the liberty of Dissenters, but failed to accomplish his purpose. Defeated in this, he resorted to the same expedient which he had adopted in 1716 for the defeat of the Test Act, which was then successful. He obtained leave in the House of Lords to bring in heads of a bill which was an exact counterpart of the English act, and which he wished passed and transmitted to England before the English ministry had completed their revision of the Commons bill, but he failed in accomplishing this by the House taking a recess of six weeks, and it was not until September that the bill had passed through all the forms of the House of Lords, and before it could be sent to England the Commons' bill had been returned under the great seal, which closed the door against the Archbishop's bill.

On the 3d of October the bill, as received from England, was laid upon the table of the House of Commons and read for the first time. An additional clause had been added by the English ministers, "enabling all Presbyterians who might be prosecuted for non-conformity, and who had not taken the oaths as required for their protection under this act, to qualify by taking these oaths during the progress of any such prosecution, and upon their so qualifying themselves, in compliance with this act, every such prosecution was to cease." In this form the bill finally passed the House of Commons on the 16th of October, and on the same day was read for the first time in the House



of Lords. No opposition was made to it until the 22d, when the House was in committee on the bill, but after a long debate it was passed, six Bishops voting in the affirmative. On the 2d of November this bill, entitled, "An act for exempting the Protestant Dissenters of this kingdom from certain penalties to which they are now subject," received the royal assent.

The exemption secured by this act was more in name than in reality—it conferred a privilege in law rather than in fact. And of so little value was it, that there is reason to believe that very few ministers availed themselves of its provisions. Meagre and unsuitable as it is, it continues to be the charter of religion liberty to the Presbyterians in Ireland, while at the same time it continues to be little more than an obsolete statute. The same enlightened public opinions which so generally protected Presbyterians in their worship before the passing of the act, has continued to do so ever since independently of its provisions. The only other favor shown to the Presbyterians by the Parliament was the passage of a bill extending the time during which they might qualify by taking the Sacramental Test to the 25th of March following. And even this did not originate in the Irish Parliament, but was sent over from England and laid before them in October. It received the royal assent on the same day with the Toleration Act.

## CHAPTER XXXIII.

1719-1726.

THUS far the Presbyterian Church in Ulster had been perfectly conformed to that of Scotland, where many of the ministers were trained and licensed, although some of them finished their course at Leyden. The first change may be dated from the settlement at Antrim, in 1703, of the Rev. John Abernethy, a native of Tyrone, where his father was a Presbyterian minister, and trained at Glasgow and Edinburg, licensed in 1702, and called to assist Embyn (or Emlyn), Boyse's assistant, in Dublin, who had been deposed for Arianism. But Abernethy was advised by his father, who died soon after, to settle in the north, where he soon became distinguished for activity and piety. In 1705 he became the founder of an association of ministers for theological improvement, called, from its place of meeting, the Belfast Society. Its members at first were young men, and in course of time they rose to be the most influential ministers in the Synod. Two of the number had been fellow-students and correspondents of Professor Simpson of Glasgow, disciplined as a Pelagian, and finally an Arian, and several of the younger were his pupils.

These men, without avowing any such opinions, began to preach latitudinarian views as to church authority, creeds, and confessions, and the right of private

judgment; holding that a sinner's acceptance with God depends not on the atonement of our Lord Jesus Christ, but on his own personal sincerity; that belief in any positive doctrine is non-essential; that error, if not wilful, is innocent; and particularly that to require from any man subscription to a creed drawn up by men is at variance with the principles of Christian liberty. This excited a suspicion of more serious errors in some of their more intelligent contemporaries, such as Francis Hutcheson, son of the member of Parliament at Armagh, and afterwards professor of moral philosophy at Glasgow, in which he was followed by Adam Smith, and Reid. He describes a "Hoadly mania" as existing, fostered by the works of Hoadly and Clark, and by intercourse with the nominally Presbyterian, but really Independent ministers of Dublin. The first public announcement of these novel opinions was in a sermon preached by Abernethy before the Society, on the 9th of December, 1719, and subsequently published under the title, "Religious Obedience Founded on Personal Obedience." In this discourse the preacher inculcated various erroneous sentiments; among others, that the sole rule of faith and practice to a man is his own persuasion of what is right; that if a man walk according to his own persuasions, it would be wrong to exclude him from Church fellowship on the ground of mere doctrinal differences; and that error is not culpable if cherished by one who made a sufficient search for truth.

This production of Abernethy was answered by the Rev. John Malcom, minister of Dunmurry, in which he pointed out the dangerous nature of the views propounded by Abernethy, calling them "new lights"---



an epithet by which they were henceforth designated. This pamphlet of Malcom's drew forth an answer from the Belfast Society, giving the origin of their views, denying that they are novel, defending Abernethy's doctrine of personal persuasion, which they say Mr. Malcom has mistaken, and declaring their "fervent desire to live in love and in constant communion" with their brethren.

These publications, together with the hostility of some to subscribe the Westminster Confession, created great uneasiness throughout the province. This was increased by the circulation of private letters among the ministers, in which the Deity of Christ was denied to be a fundamental doctrine. It became necessary, therefore, that the Synod should consider what course to pursue in this emergency. Three different courses were open to them; either to separate at once from these innovating brethren, or to permit them to remain; but, at the same time, to adhere to the existing laws with firmness in the admission of ministers, so that those holding similar views might be excluded; or, lastly, to alter the terms of admission, in order to adapt them to the scruples of these brethren, and thus prevent a schism in the Church. Unfortunately the last of these courses was adopted by the Synod, under the advice of her most experienced ministers, which resulted in a controversy that agitated the whole Church, and was maintained hotly in the Synod and through the press for some years afterwards.

The questions in controversy, when they came before the Synod, turned mainly on the propriety of requiring licentiates and ministers to subscribe the Westminster Confession of Faith, as had hitherto been the

practice ; the majority contending that the church had a right thus to test the doctrinal soundness of all her pastors, while the members of the Belfast Society opposed subscription, not, they said, because they disbelieved any doctrines of the Confession, but because a compulsory subscription to any human creed whatever was, in their opinion, inconsistent with the right of private judgment, and with liberty of conscience.

This Synod which met in Belfast in June, 1720, was the first which took public cognizance of this matter. It was composed of one hundred and fifteen ministers and eighty-six elders, and was opened with a sermon by the Rev. Robert Craghead, of Dublin. The first subject connected with this controversy which engaged their attention was the case of the Rev. Samuel Haliday, who had been accused before the Presbytery of Belfast, by the Rev. Samuel Dunlop, of holding Arian sentiments. The Synod, after a full investigation of the case, found Mr. Haliday innocent, and rebuked Mr. Dunlop for rash and imprudent behaviour. Having done this act of justice, their attention was directed to measures which might allay the apprehension into which the body of the people had been plunged by recent events. Their first measure was the adoption of what is called the Pacific Act, which, while it professed to adhere to the Westminster Confession of Faith, and renewed the law enjoining subscription to it, concluded by legalizing the practice of receiving explanations of objectionable phrases, and thus sanctioned and encouraged further departures from it. By other acts the Synod enjoined the silence of the ministers for a year as to controverted points, but recommended the preaching of the great Calvinistic doctrines, and de-

precated suspicion on the part of the people. It was confidently believed that all causes of offence had now been removed, and concord and mutual confidence restored to the Church.

Before the meeting of the next Synod the agitation was renewed, by a deliberate violation of the Pacific Act by the very party for whom it had been expressly enacted. Haliday, whose installation was fixed for the 28th of July, refused to avail himself of the provisions of this act, or to subscribe the Confession of Faith in any form, and offered to the Presbytery an unsatisfactory declaration of his faith, as being all that the Church had a right to demand. Through the influence of Mr. Kirkpatrick and the other members of Presbytery who belonged to the Belfast society, Mr. Haliday was installed. Four members of Presbytery protested against this act, and appealed to the sub-synod of Belfast. In the alarm occasioned by this action it was proposed to call a special meeting of the General Synod ; but it was prevented by the interference of the Belfast Society, alleging that such a course would only increase the ferment in the Church, and that the case might be safely left to the ordinary course of discipline.

A letter of vindication published by the Belfast Society at this time, appeared to have no effect in dissipating the alarm which existed throughout the province, and the meeting of the sub-synod of Belfast was anxiously awaited, in the hope that the law of the Church, which had been so openly violated, would then be vindicated. This Synod met in January, 1721, and pronounced the installation of Mr. Haliday contrary to the act of the General Synod. Upon the re-



turn of Mr. Haliday, who was in London during the meeting of the Synod, the Presbytery called upon him to comply with the law of the Church, by subscribing the Confession in the usual form, which he again resolutely refusing to do, the case was laid over until the meeting of the General Synod. During these unhappy difficulties a friendly correspondence was carried on between the Rev. Gilbert Kennedy, the moderator of the Synod, and Mr. Abernethy; in which Mr. Kennedy argued the question of subscription with great ability, and in the course of which he obtained some important admissions from Mr. Abernethy, which well nigh conceded the point in dispute.

In the midst of the anxiety which now prevailed, the Synod held its annual meeting at Belfast. Memorials were received from seventeen congregations in Ulster, asking that, in order to remove the present apprehension, all the members of the Synod, and all inferior judicatories of the Church, be required to subscribe the Westminster Confession of Faith, as the confession of their faith. In the unusual circumstances in which they were placed, the Synod, in order to vindicate itself from the charge of denying the divinity of Christ, passed a resolution declaring their belief in this fundamental doctrine, and their purpose to proceed against all who denied it. This resolution was opposed by the members of the Belfast Society, as infringing upon their cardinal principles of religious liberty. They took this course not because they denied the divinity of Christ, but because they were opposed to all authoritative human decisions as tests of orthodoxy. They also distinguished between the truth of the doctrine of the Saviour's Deity, which they professed to hold, and

its being an essential or fundamental doctrine of the gospel, the belief of which was necessary to Christian or ministerial communion, which they denied—a doctrine which, if carried out in harmony with their doctrine of personal persuasion, prepared them for admitting to the ordinances, and even the ministry of the Church, an Arian or Socinian.

To calm the fears that existed in the church, another measure was proposed, namely: not to enjoin, but to permit all who were willing to do so to subscribe the Westminster Confession of Faith. After a long debate this measure was carried, and the Confession was subscribed by most of the members, who were from this time designated as Subscribers, and those who refused, Non-Subscribers, all of whom were members of the Belfast Society, although afterwards some of these subscribed, among whom was Thomas Maclaine, the father of the well-known translator of Mosheim's Institutes. This Synod, in view of the difficulties occasioned by the case of Mr. Haliday, passed three overtures for the rendering of the Pacific Act more effectual. It was provided in these overtures that no person should be licensed, ordained, or installed without the concurrence of two thirds of the Presbytery then present; secondly, that should any single person protest against such license, ordination, or installation, further proceedings therein should be arrested until the next Synod; and thirdly, that should the Pacific Act be again violated, the presiding minister should be suspended at the discretion of the Synod.

The Synod had hardly adjourned before a paper war was begun by the Reverend William Dugud, and continued by Dunlop, Kennedy, Malcom and Clerk

for the Subscribers, and by Kirkpatrick and Abernethy for the Non-Subscribers. Through the influence of these publications the people were now engaged on both sides of the conflict, and the subscribing ministers themselves began to differ as to the future policy of the Synod. In this state of doubt advice was sought from the Scottish Church, and in the Spring of 1722 letters were written to the leading ministers in Scotland, asking the opinion of the General Assembly on the question of Subscription. They received an answer in favor of maintaining subscription to the Westminster Confession of Faith, and that as majorities govern, those opposed should be willing to submit to their decision, and if the Non-Subscribers cannot conscientiously follow this course, they should claim no voice in the judicatories, but should withdraw, leaving the Church courts to act as heretofore upon Presbyterian principles; at the same time they were advised to hold ministerial communion with those who should thus withdraw.

Before the meeting of the approaching Synod a paper was circulated calling upon Protestant Dissenters to set apart a day of humiliation and prayer in view of their backslidings and divisions. Owing to an insult which had been offered to the last Synod in Belfast by the partisans of the Belfast Society, it resolved to hold its next meeting at Derry, and it was nearly half a century before it returned to Belfast. At this meeting the proposal was made, according to the advice received from Scotland, to exclude all ministers who would not subscribe the Westminster Confession of Faith, or at least the fifth and sixth questions in the Shorter Catechism. This proposal alarmed



the more moderate Subscribers, and they drew up a paper earnestly desiring the meeting to drop all further debates on subscription. These counter proposals were referred to a committee, who brought in a series of five resolutions, which were adopted by the Synod. By the first of them it was resolved, that "the declaring articles of faith in Scripture words only shall not be accepted as a sufficient evidence of a person's soundness in the faith." By the second, the Synod resolved, "most constantly and firmly to adhere to the Westminster Confession of Faith;" and by the third, "to maintain the Presbyterian government and discipline as hitherto exercised." The fourth expressed their desire to "exercise Christian forbearance toward the Non-Subscribers so long as they governed themselves according to the acts of the Synod and did not disturb the peace of the church;" and by the last, they "earnestly and most seriously exhort the people under the ministry of the Non-Subscribers to condescend so far as their consciences allow them in adhering to their pastors." Notwithstanding an able protest entered by four of the ministers, the leading men of all parties were sanguine of the good result which would flow from this action.

But these hopes were soon blasted by a collision of parties in Belfast, respecting a newly erected church in that town. Mr. Samuel Smith, an eminent merchant in Belfast, had visited Scotland for the purpose of collecting funds for completing the building, in which he was successful, and at the meeting of the sub-Synod, in January, he had applied for a recommendation to visit the eastern part of Scotland for the same purpose. This application was opposed by Mr.

Haliday and the Non-Subscribing party. In the debate which sprung up Mr. Haliday referred to a letter of Professor Simpson, in which he alleged that Smith, when in Glasgow, had said that although he did not suspect the Non-Subscribers of Arianism, he feared they maintained principles which might be dangerous to the Church. Mr. Smith demanded that this letter should be produced, which Haliday declined to do. This excited Colonel Upton, an elder of Templepatrick, and a member of Parliament, to reply, that whether Mr. Smith had used the words attributed to him or not they were true. This led to a warm debate, after which a resolution was passed, (most of the subscribing ministers having left,) that Colonel Upton had not made good his charges against them; whereupon he appealed to the General Synod.

The conduct of the Non-Subscribers in this case contributed more than any other single event to accelerate the schism which afterwards occurred. Immediately after the meeting, Mr. Smith and Rev. William Livingston proceeded to Scotland, where they spent three months making collections. And although their adversaries in Belfast had printed a pamphlet for the purpose of prejudicing the Scots against them, and Mr. Kirkpatrick and Haliday had published a letter in Edinburg, endeavoring to involve all who assisted the new congregation in the guilt of schism, yet the deputation returned to Belfast well satisfied with the result of their mission.

The Belfast Society again appeared before the public in a pamphlet, in answer to the one published by Mr. Clerk, in June, 1722. Mr. Clerk answered them in a paper which appeared about a month before the meet-

ing of the Synod of 1723, which the Belfast Society considered as only aggravating the original offence, and they gave him notice that they would prefer a formal charge against him for calumny and misrepresentation at the approaching Synod. The eyes of all were now turned to this Synod, which met at Dungannon about the middle of June, on account of Colonel Upton's appeal from the Non-Subscribers' decision, and the charges of the Belfast Society against Mr. Clerk, which were to be acted upon. The Synod was opened with a sermon by the Rev. Robert Kennedy, and Rev. Mr. Masterton, of Belfast, was chosen moderator. Eleven days of the Synod were occupied with the trial of Colonel Upton's appeal; and when in his argument he quoted the two pamphlets which he had introduced in the sub-Synod, namely, "The Vindication," edited by Dr. Ferguson, and the "Good Old Way," the Non-Subscribers, to the surprise of all, refused to admit these works as theirs, and the further progress of the trial was at once arrested and postponed to the next annual meeting. But the Synod passed some resolutions affirming the principles maintained by Colonel Upton, "that the condemning all creeds and confessions and declarations of faith in human works as tests of Orthodoxy opens a door to let in errors and heresies into the Church," and condemning the "Vindication," edited by Dr. Ferguson, as being dangerous and pernicious in its tendency, and declaring that its authors and dispersers were disturbers of the peace of the Church. The charge against Mr. Clerk was abandoned by the Belfast Society, and thus the controversy was closed in this Synod.

A breach of communion between the Subscribers



and the Non-Subscribers now became imminent. And the Non-Subscribers became more and more violent and unscrupulous, both from the pulpit and the press.

After the minutes of this Synod had been distributed Messrs. Kirkpatrick and Haliday, at a public assembly of their congregations, spoke against the Synod for treating their party with the greatest injustice, and expressed their determination to maintain their principles in spite of their condemnation by the Supreme Court. The friends of the Synod indiscreetly brought this subject before the standing committee, and a sharp discussion ensued, ending in an order for the Belfast Presbytery to meet immediately and summon witnesses who could give information on matters of fact to be presented to the General Synod. The Non-Subscribers, having a majority in this Presbytery, instead of following the direction of the Synod's committee, appointed a day on which Messrs. Kirkpatrick and Haliday were to repeat before the Presbytery and their congregations all that they had formerly said. Accordingly they met an immense concourse, and Mr. Kirkpatrick, in a speech of nine hours' length, entered into a defence of Non-Subscribing principles, followed by Mr. Haliday in a brief speech. Thus, through the ill-advised efforts of the Subscribers to protect the Synod, their opponents had a more favorable opportunity than ever before of publishing and explaining their views.

Soon after this Mr. Masterton of Belfast published an answer to Mr. Abernethy's last pamphlet, which was followed by a pamphlet from Mr. Haliday, the most comprehensive, and at the same time the most plausible paper which had appeared on the Non-Subscribers' side.

Towards the close of February Mr. Masterton gave notice of the first communion to be held in his new church in Belfast; and to his great surprise he received a notice from Kirkpatrick and Haliday of their intention of joining with him in this service, and requesting him to give notice to that effect from his pulpit. Masterton and his session were much perplexed with this offer, in view of the course that had been pursued by these brethren in regard to the Synod. This perplexity clearly evinced the inconsistent and indefensible position which the Synod had occupied almost from the very commencement of these debates. After receiving from Mr. Masterton and his session urgent entreaties that they would not persist in their "attempt to disturb the solemn work" then in hand, Messrs. Kirkpatrick and Haliday, considering this as a formal exclusion, on that ground abandoned their design.

This incident opened the eyes of many to the false policy which had been pursued by the Synod towards Non-Subscribers. The opinion became general that if these brethren held latitudinarian views, inconsistent with the purity, safety, and peace of the church, it was the duty of the Synod to take a decided stand, and withhold all countenance from them. But as the majority of the Synod still held communion with these erring brethren, those of the people who felt that they had not gone far enough determined to keep themselves clear from all responsibility in the matter. Accordingly, in several Presbyteries vacant congregations refused to admit Non-Subscribing ministers into their pulpits, and Subscribing ministers were obliged to cease employing them at the celebration of the Lord's Supper.

The sub-Synod of Derry, which met in May, 1724,

issued an address warning their people against the errors and immoralities of the age, which, being widely circulated, tended to quiet the apprehensions of the people, and to satisfy them that a large body of ministers and elders were firm in upholding the doctrines and constitution of the Church. This was succeeded by a paper entitled "A Defence of the Principles and Conduct of the General Synod of Ulster," from the pen of Mr. Kennedy and others; and about the same time Mr. Abernethy published an answer to Mr. Masterton's "Apology."

The general excitement caused by these publications was increased by charges against Mr. Nevin of Downpatrick, whose unguarded language against Subscription was interpreted as a denial of the divinity of Christ; and though his orthodoxy as to this point was established, yet as he still refused to subscribe, the Synod of 1724 withheld ministerial communion from him, to which the Non-Subscribers refused to submit. This case led to the publication of a large octavo volume by Nevin, and a reply of equal size. This sentence of Mr. Nevin, depriving him of ministerial communion with the Synod, but not of his ministerial character, and recognizing him as still minister of Downpatrick, led to further difficulties. At the first meeting of the Presbytery of Down, of which Mr. Nevin was a member, the clerk insisted on calling his name, and was sustained by the Non-Subscribers, whereupon the Subscribing ministers, protesting against this action, refused to sit as members in a court which should thus condemn the action of the Synod. But at a meeting of the Presbytery in September, the Subscribing ministers still refusing to act, the friends of



Mr. Nevin abandoned their untenable position, and he was declared to be no longer a member.

Difficulties also arose early in the year in the congregation of Comber through the violence of the Rev. John Orr, who, though a Subscriber, signalized himself by his violent support of the Non-Subscribing party. Indeed a general dissatisfaction began to prevail not only against the Non-Subscribers but against the moderate Subscribers. In the meantime another work by Mr. Kirkpatrick appeared, in the preface of which he gives a full account of what took place between himself, Mr. Haliday, and Mr. Masterton, and his session, which has already been mentioned.

At the meeting of the sub-Synod of Belfast, in January, 1725, the name of Mr. Nevin was again called, which occasioned a violent debate, which was closed by a protest against the name of Mr. Nevin being continued on the roll, and on account of the confusion in the House, the protestors, including the moderator, clerk, and a majority of the House, retired to prepare and sign the document, but in their absence the Non-Subscribers hastily appointed a new moderator and clerk, admitted Mr. Nevin to his seat, and proceeded with the business of the court. When the majority returned with their protest, so great was the confusion that they could not get it received, and after several attempts to restore order the Synod was dissolved in the most disgraceful disorder without having transacted any business. This was evidently a preconcerted scheme of the Non-Subscribers to destroy the authority of those courts of the Church in which they had any power, and resulted a year afterwards in a separation.

The Non-Subscribers still continued to use the

press in the exhibition of their principles. In February a letter from Mr. Haliday, in answer to the pamphlet of Mr. Kennedy, appeared, in which he attacked the use of the word *composition* in the Westminster Confession, when treating of the two natures of Christ, but was ably answered by Iredell. In March a letter from the Reverend Mr. Elder of Aghadoey, a Subscriber, but a warm supporter of the Non-Subscribing party, was published, entitled, "Reasons for Moderation," &c. The popular excitement was increased by the case of the Reverend Alexander Colville, one of the early members of the Belfast Society, who being refused ordination on account of his Non-Subscribing principles, proceeded to England to seek ordination from the hands of the English Dissenters, and was ordained in the vestry-room of Dr. Calamy's church. This interference was resented by the Irish Church, who refused to allow Colville to preach in their congregations. Dr. Calamy in return threatened to withdraw the Royal Bounty.

At the instance of the Dublin ministers, the Lord Lieutenant, Carteret, requested in the King's name, that the controversy might come to an end, but in vain, for at the Synod of 1725, which met in June, the case of Colville was introduced, and he was suspended for three months, and all who should hold ministerial communion with him were threatened with suspension. At this and the preceding Synods the two parties met separately during the adjournments. This Synod authorized Church members who scrupled communion with Non-Subscribing ministers to follow the light of their own consciences therein; declared the reservations allowed in the Pacific Act to concern phrases,



not doctrines; and readjusted the Presbyteries in the sub-Synod of Belfast on the "elective affinity principle," by dividing Down into Bangor and Killileagh, adding Templepatrick, and putting all the Non-Subscribers, twelve in number, into Antrim. And they carried this accommodating principle still further by placing in the Presbytery of Killileagh the moderate Subscribers who were in favor of holding communion with Non-Subscribers, and in that of Bangor those who were opposed to that practice. This made peace in the sub-Synod, diminished the influence of the Non-Subscribers, and prepared the way for their excision. In the meantime they proposed five "expedients for peace," which were sent down to the Presbyteries for their consideration.

Colville defied the Synod by preaching in spite of its action, and invoked the southern Synod of Dublin, who sent a deputation to Ulster, and on the 25th of October they, with nine of the Ulster Non-Subscribers, installed Mr. Colville over the congregation of Dromore, which led to an alienation between them and the Ulster brethren in Dublin. Abernethy's last publication was answered by Hemphill and Masterton, after which there was a lull for six months. Public attention was again awakened by the five overtures which had been sent down to the Presbyteries by the last Synod. The dangers which they were intended to avert had been removed by the exclusion of the Non-Subscribers, and they were never submitted to the consideration of the Synod. It is therefore unnecessary to notice anything but the publications to which they gave rise. It is singular that no one wrote against these overtures, except the Reverend Robert Higin-



botham of Coleraine, a Subscriber, which led to a division of his congregation, and was answered by Mr. M'Bride of Ballymoney. The Presbytery of Route afterwards took judicial cognizance of several unguarded and dangerous positions in Higinbotham's pamphlet, which occupied their attention for several months.

During the early part of June, in anticipation of the approaching meeting of Synod, four publications issued from the press. The first was an answer to the Postscript of the Dublin ministers in Abernethy's "Defence," by Mr. Masterton; the second a letter of Hemphill in reply to Mr. Haliday; the third, a paper of Mr. Iredell, in answer to Haliday's letter to Kennedy, these three being on the side of the Subscribers; and the fourth on the other side, being a pamphlet by Mr. Boyse, which was his last appearance as an author.

In the midst of the excitement caused by these publications, the Synod opened its meeting at Dungannon on the 21st of June. The first subject of discussion was on the "expedients for peace," presented by the Non-Subscribers, but not a single offer was made on which an agreement with them could be based; there was, therefore, no alternative left the Synod than to propose a separation, in the only form in which it could be proposed, namely, by exclusion. Accordingly, the committee of the Subscribers to whom the "expedients for peace" had been submitted brought in a report to the effect that some of the propositions were evasive of the Pacific Act, and contrary to important resolutions of the General Synod, and the known principles of the constitution of the Church,

and therefore they reject them as inconsistent with the peace and unity of the Church; and that hereafter it will be impossible for them to hold ministerial communion with those who sustain them.

The next morning Mr. Kirkpatrick answered this overture, complaining that their "expedients" had been misunderstood, and called upon the Synod to answer their arguments before they proceeded to a rupture. After various attempts to delay action, a vote was taken, which resulted in favor of the overture, thirty-six ministers voting for it, and thirty-four against it, while the great body of the elders voted in the affirmative.

This act of separation was limited in its nature. The Non-Subscribers were not excluded from Christian fellowship, nor their ministerial character in any way interfered with. Neither were they excluded from ministerial communion in religious ordinances and sacraments, but simply from ministerial communion with Subscribers in church judicatories. There were also still remaining in the Synod many warm partizans of the Non-Subscribers, which in time brought forth the fruit of discord and error.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

1726-1750.

THE Synod, having thus excluded the Non-Subscribers, received the reasons for protest of those Subscribers who had opposed the separation, but refused to receive a protest from the Non-Subscribers, on the ground that they were no longer members of the court. They also agreed that the Non-Subscribers should receive their proportion of the Royal Bounty as before.

The Non-Subscribers, before leaving Dungannon, drew up an address to their congregations, which, however, at once began to be divided, some churches losing ninety or a hundred families, which were formed into separate congregations or annexed to other Presbyteries. Mr. Higinbotham of Coleraine at first joined the Non-Subscribers, but afterwards repented of his hasty step and returned to the Synod in 1728.

Although the controversy had ceased in the Church courts it was still carried on through the press. "A Seasonable Warning," by some Subscribing ministers, in answer to a letter from the Presbytery of Antrim, made its appearance, followed in August by a pamphlet from the pen of Malcom, now in the fortieth year of his ministry, in which he institutes a parallel between the "Sectarians of the last age," meaning those in the Westminster Assembly who had prevented the establishment of Presbyterian government in England,



and the "Modern New Lights," meaning the Non-Subscribers. This pamphlet was felt to be so unjust and offensive, that it was answered towards the close of the year by Mr. Abernethy. About the same time Mr. Haliday published a letter addressed to Mr. Iredell, who rejoined the next year. In March, 1727, Mr. Elder, of Aghadoey, after an interval of a year, published a spirited vindication of himself against the attack of Mr. M'Bride. Mr. M'Bride's pamphlet also called forth an answer from Mr. Nevin, whose exclusion from the Synod he had attempted to defend. But the most important publication of this year was "A Narrative of the Seven Synods," by the Non-Subscribers, which is a partial, yet elaborate, defence of their views and principles. It is a valuable compilation, from the original documents, and the reports of debates, which have thus been preserved from oblivion. This was partially answered by a posthumous tract by Hutcheson of Armagh. Towards the close of the year 1731, "a member of the General Synod (now unknown) published an answer to the "Narrative," which, as far as it goes, is conclusive and satisfactory. This, with a small work on the Trinity, by Masterton, and a few pamphlets by Holmes, on the Subscribers' side, and Duchal and Blair on that of the Non-Subscribers, may be said to have closed the series of more than fifty publications in a dozen years.

While these events were passing inside of the Church, the Presbyterians of Ulster at last obtained a legal toleration ; but continued to suffer from Episcopalian landlords, from the Sacramental Test, and as to marriages,—all which remained unchanged at the death of George I.

The news of the accession of George II., which occurred on the 11th of June, 1727, reached Dungannon on the 22d, while the Synod was in session, and they, on invitation from the governor, attended his proclamation in a body ; and before their adjournment, drew up a loyal and dutiful address to his Majesty, and forwarded it to England through the usual channel. The Presbyterian claims were countenanced by Dr. Hugh Boulter, the Primate, and by Speaker Conolly, as long as he lived. But while they were thus favored by the government, their prosperity throughout the province was declining. The rise of rents and tithes, with several bad harvests, (1724–1728), and especially the oppressions of the government, led many to emigrate to America, to which they were solicited by agents from the colonies. Four thousand two hundred sailed in three years, some selling themselves for four years to pay their passage.

Alarmed by this great emigration from Ulster, the Lords Justices inquired of Messrs. Iredell and Craghead of Dublin the cause of it, who wrote letters to the northern Presbyteries, asking for their views on the subject which were embodied in a memorial and laid before the Lords Justices, in March, 1729. In this memorial they give as the principal causes the Sacramental Test and the marriage grievances. The Archbishop, in transmitting this memorial to the Lord Lieutenant, then in England, denied this representation, and held that the oppression of the Presbyterians arose chiefly from the landlords. The ministers sent Mr. Craghead to London for the purpose of still further explaining the subject of their memorial, and to settle some matters connected with the Royal Bounty. He



was introduced and recommended by Primate Boulter to Sir Robert Walpole. Mr. Craghead succeeded in arranging the difficulties connected with the Royal Bounty, but failed in getting anything done to remove the civil grievances which oppressed the Presbyterians. Two years having elapsed with nothing done for their relief, the Synod of 1731 again commissioned Mr. Craghead to proceed to London and urge the repeal of the Sacramental Test. He met with a favorable reception, and efforts were made by the friends of the Dissenters to have the repeal of the Test Act inserted among the instructions drawn up for the new Lord Lieutenant, the Duke of Dorset, who was on the eve of going to Ireland; and it was generally supposed that their object had been gained. But on his arrival it was found that all their hopes were disappointed.

Mr. Abernethy, who had succeeded Mr. Boyse in Dublin, published at this time an able statement of the injustice done to the Presbyterian population in Ireland by the Test Act, and the strong claims they had for its repeal. This aroused their old and bitter opponent Dean Swift, who published "The Presbyterians Plea of Merit, in order to take off the Test, impartially examined." This he followed early in the year 1732, by an ironical pamphlet, to which was appended an elaborate reply to Abernethy's tract. But the controversy was now transferred from Ireland to England. The English Protestant Dissenters endeavored to procure the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, and a multitude of pamphlets issued from the London press on the subject. But through the dexterity of Walpole the Dissenters concluded that the time had



not yet arrived for them to press their matters with any hope of success.

The English ministry at length gave the Duke of Dorset the power to hold a meeting of Parliament and recommend the repeal of the Sacramental Test in Ireland. Accordingly the Parliament assembled on the 4th of October, and was opened by the Lord Lieutenant by a speech, in which he hinted at the repeal, and referred to the union of all Protestants as essential to the interests of the country. But the friends of the measure finally abandoned the subject, as a large majority in both Houses were evidently opposed to it. This act had now existed for thirty years, and its repeal seemed more hopeless than ever; nor was the attempt renewed till nearly half a century afterwards, when it was at length crowned with success. The only relief granted to the Presbyterians during this reign was an act passed in 1738 exempting them from prosecutions for marriages by ministers who had qualified under the Toleration Act.

The Church during this whole struggle continued to enjoy internal prosperity, but now symptoms of a desire to lower the standard of ministerial education appearing, it was required that all candidates should be Masters of Arts, and should study divinity at least four years. To prevent divisions in calling ministers a vote of two thirds of the stipend-payers was required, which displeased the poorer classes, but remained the rule for upwards of a century.

The Synod now contained some able and accomplished men, but few evangelical preachers, and several of the Non-Subscribers were suspected of heresy. But no Presbyterian minister, as yet, maintained Uni-

tarian opinions. Doctrinal discussions were avoided, and the ablest business men were on the lax side, which was continually strengthened by the influx of Professor Simpson's pupils, so that the Non-Subscribers were looking forward to a speedy re-union, when a turn was given to the controversy by the rise of the Secession.

The Secession from the Church of Scotland, occasioned by the restoration of patronage in 1712, and resulting in the organization of the Associate Presbytery in 1733, attracted the attention of the stricter party in the Church of Ulster, who were dissatisfied with the temporizing conduct of the Synod, and the recent regulations about calls. The first sympathy with the Scotch Seceders appeared at Lisburn. After the death of Mr. M'Cracken in 1730, this congregation remained vacant until June 1732, when the Reverend Gilbert Kennedy became their pastor, and after a short stay removed to Killileagh. After a vacancy of three years, the Reverend William Patton, amidst much opposition, was installed in July 1736. This led the disaffected persons of the congregation to renounce the jurisdiction of the Synod of Ulster and to put themselves under the care of the Associate Presbytery, asking for the services of a minister. Their memorial, which was transmitted to Scotland, contained the names of no less than two hundred and eighty heads of families, and was answered by order of the Presbytery, by the Reverend Ebenezer Erksine.

The moderate party was growing stronger and stronger, as was indicated by a sermon preached by the Rev. George Cherry before the sub-Synod of Armagh in July, 1736. And this appeared still more evident from the case of the Rev. Richard Aprichard,

which occupied the attention of the Church in 1738. This young man, being on his trial for ordination before the Presbytery of Armagh, expressed his scruples with regard to some sections of the Confession of Faith, and when before the Synod he positively refused to sign these articles; and when it was proposed to recall his license, he cut short the debate by renouncing the jurisdiction of the General Synod. Mr. Cherry and twelve members of Synod sustained Mr. Ap-  
richard in his views, and entered their protest upon the minutes of the Synod.

In 1741 the people of Lylehill, near Lisburn, applied, through their commissioners, Messrs. John Gibson and Samuel Henderson, to the Associate Presbytery in Scotland, for a supply of ministers, and in September, 1742, the Rev. Thomas Ballantyne, the first seceding preacher who ever visited Ireland, came over, where he remained about a fortnight, preaching to large assemblies. In January, 1743, Mr. Gavin Beugo, a licentiate, visited Antrim as a missionary, being followed by Thomas Ballantyne a second time, and Mr. John Erskine, the son of Mr. Ralph Erskine. But the Associate Presbytery had now become so popular in Scotland that it was unable to supply its own vacancies, and no more were sent to Ireland during the year.

In the meantime the dissensions in the Synod of Ulster continued. In the congregation of Newtownlimavady a difficulty arose between the friends of Mr. Henry Erskine, who had been lately settled, and a Mr. Joseph Osborne. The friends of Osborne having applied for a separate organization to the Presbytery of Derry, and being refused, applied to the Pres-



bytery of Antrim, who received them, and installed Mr. Osborne as their pastor. This case was brought before the Synod at Dungannon in 1742, and a series of overtures was passed announcing their determination to punish probationers who encouraged divisions in vacant congregations, as well as to censure ministers who countenanced such probationers in applying for ordination "to any association not belonging to the General Synod."

Osborne and his adherents, finding that their connection with the Presbytery of Antrim was prejudicial to their interests, made application to the Synod, which met in June, 1743, to be taken under their care. The memorial making this request was held back until the very close of the meeting, when those who were supposed to be hostile to it had gone home; and, although opposed by Mr. Erskine, they were, by a large vote, received, upon Mr. Osborne expressing his concern for his irregular ordination by the Presbytery of Antrim, and subscribing the Westminster Confession of Faith. This hasty action of the Synod was condemned by many; and at its meeting in 1744 the Rev. John Stirling of Ballykelly was permitted to enter on the records a protest against this action as "rash, unfair, and unconstitutional."

For some years a misunderstanding had existed among the members of the Presbytery of Armagh, the one party holding that the other did not faithfully maintain the doctrines of the Westminster Confession. This led to a division of the Presbytery, in 1743, into two, Armagh and Dromore. This division failed to secure the harmony which was anticipated, a paper war soon after commencing between these Presbyteries, originat-

ing in the case of the Rev. George Ferguson of Market-hill, whose orthodoxy had been impeached. When the case came before the Synod in 1744 the witnesses against Mr. Ferguson were intimidated and did not make their appearance, and the court brought in the dubious verdict of "not proved."

It now became evident that there was an anti-evangelical party in the Synod of Ulster, and the Non-Subscribers were greatly elated with the hope of being again united with the Synod, some of them having said that if "a few men were dead," alluding to some of the old ministers, the Synod and the Presbytery of Antrim would soon be one again. At the opening of the Synod of 1745 the Rev. John Carlisle of Clogher preached a sermon against creeds and confessions from the text "concerning zeal persecuting the Church," which was afterwards published by him as though sanctioned by the Synod. The fact that it had been preached before the Supreme Court of the Church, and permitted to pass without rebuke, clearly evinced the growing influence of "moderate" principles.

While these signs of defection in the Synod were increasing, the friends of the Associate Presbytery were not idle; and in 1744 a number of families in Lisburn and its vicinity, following the example of Lylehill, placed themselves under the care of the Scottish judicatory. That body had increased so rapidly in Scotland, that on the 11th of October the Associate Synod was constituted, consisting of the three Presbyteries of Glasgow, Edinburgh and Dunfermline; and the affairs of Ireland were entrusted to the Presbytery of Glasgow. At the meeting of the Associate Synod of 1745, the Rev. Isaac Patton, a licentiate, was commissioned to preach



nine Sabbaths, and the Rev. John M'Ara to preach four Sabbaths, at different points in Ulster, which resulted in a call being given by the friends of the Associated Synod in Templepatrick, Belfast and Lisburn, to Mr. Patton, to be their pastor ; and on the 9th of July, 1746, he was ordained and installed in Lylehill, by a delegation sent over from the Presbyteries of Glasgow and Dunfermline. This was the first settlement of a seceding minister in Ireland.

Soon after the settlement of Mr. Patton a number of missionaries were sent out by the Associate Presbytery of Edinburg, to itinerate through the county. And not long afterwards they were followed by the Rev. James Fisher, the son-in-law of Ebenezer Erskine, and one of the original founders of the Secession, who already had such a popularity in Ireland that many were accustomed to pass over to Kinclaven, his Scottish parish, to attend his communions. On his arrival in Ireland he attracted great crowds wherever he preached, and was even welcomed by some of the ministers of the Synod of Ulster. The object of these visits of Mr. Fisher was to negotiate a union with the stricter members of the Synod, believing that if the evangelical party could be induced to adopt the testimony of his Church, the Secession would be at once firmly established in the north of Ireland ; but in this he was disappointed.

At the meeting of the Synod of 1747, "supplications" were presented from a number of the Presbyteries complaining of corruptions which were creeping into the Church, through the means of various deistical publications which had been circulated through Ulster. Several of the ministers of the Synod, who



were orthodox in their professions, had also excited suspicion, on account of their countenancing the republication of works which directly assailed the doctrines of the Westminster Confession. Among these was the treatise of Taylor, "On Original Sin," an artful defence of Pelagianism ; and although at this time every member of the Synod had publicly professed his adherence to the Westminster formularies, yet their inconsistency in recommending this work of Taylor, on the ground that they were the friends of free inquiry, caused great alarm. The "moderate men" of the Synod, (those who sympathized with the Non-Subscribers,) against whom these charges were specially directed, had not the courage to stand forward in their own vindication, and they therefore agreed to a document entitled, "A Serious Warning to the People of our Communion, within the bounds of the Synod," admitting the existence of the evils complained of, but blunting the edge of their acknowledgments, by recounting as grievances some items which many who signed the "supplications" would never have thought of, including in such an enumeration, especially some connected with the preaching of the Seceders in the bounds of their congregations. This paper was finally adopted by the Synod, and ordered to be printed and read on the Sabbath from the pulpits of all their congregations.

Piety was now rapidly declining, and many of the ministers were exhibiting a secular spirit, although at this period there was not one avowed Unitarian or Arminian among the ministers of the Synod of Ulster.

But events were occurring in Scotland which were very soon felt in the Church in Ireland. The question

had arisen among the friends of the Secession, whether they could with propriety take the oath administered to the burgesses in several of the borough towns. This oath required them to support "the true religion presently professed within the realm, and authorized by the laws thereof." The meaning of this clause excited a warm dispute, the one party holding that it was framed simply to prevent Papists from becoming burgesses, and implied merely a recognition of the Protestant faith ; the other party contended that it should be rejected, as it involved a recognition of patronage, and all the legalized abuses of the existing Presbyterian Establishment. The Secession Church was occupied for more than two years in these discussions, which resulted, in April, 1747, in a division, both parties claiming the designation of the Associate Synod, but known in history as the Burghers and Anti-Burghers. The acrimony with which this controversy was conducted, as well as the narrow spirit it exhibited, greatly lowered the Secession in public estimation.

Strange to tell, this division spread to Ireland, where no Burghers' oath of any kind existed ; Mr. Patton who was present at the meeting of the Associate Synod when the division occurred, joined the Anti-Burghers, while other congregations in Ireland recently established connected themselves with the Anti-Burgher party. Had the Irish Presbyterian church in Ireland been in a healthy condition, this schism would have proved fatal to the Seceders, but it seems to have had little influence, they, notwithstanding the scandal connected with this decision, continued to prosper.

The publication of the "Serious Warning" aroused



the opposition of the Seceders, who called it "a cunning gravestone upon truth," and as tending to delude the laity by requiring them to come forward and prosecute unsound teachers at a time when the Synod was so corrupt that the condemnation of a heterodox minister was not to be expected. The controversy concerning this paper was continued for several years, in which the Seceders declared that ecclesiastical discipline had been neglected in admitting ignorant and profane persons to the Lord's table; in allowing parents who did not maintain family worship to present their children for baptism; that the violators of the seventh commandment were not publicly censured; that ministers did not faithfully visit and catechise the families under their charge; that the reading of sermons, had become a great grievance; that in these written sermons, instead of proclaiming the glorious gospel, they were said "to discourse like heathen moralists." On the other hand, the Synod, besides defending itself from these charges, pronounced the Act and Testimony of the Seceders as absurd, disloyal and intolerant; the proceedings of their courts were held up to ridicule; they were represented as delighting in strife, and their debates about the Burghers' oath, and the discussion which succeeded, was pronounced to be the consummation of their folly.

About this time Mr. John Swanston, a licentiate of the Secession, who had been preaching to large assemblies in the neighborhood of Colerain, was challenged by the Reverend Robert Higinbotham to a discussion, which was conducted at Ballyrashane, in the open air, before an immense assembly, to the discomfiture, it is said, of Higinbotham.



During the year 1747 both branches of the Secession made progress in all parts of Ulster, but chiefly among the humbler classes, and where the settled ministers were unsound or inefficient.

While the Seceders were thus employed in laying the foundation of their church in Ulster, the moderate party in the General Synod were apparently declining. At its meeting in 1747, a proposition intended to prepare the way for the re-establishment of communion with the Non-Subscribers had been discussed and postponed for a year, but in the meantime the Seceders had so excited the public mind in reference to heresy, that when it was again proposed in the Synod of 1748, it was lost by a large majority. In the Synod of 1749, the case of the Reverend William Fleming was under consideration. He had been called to the church of Kingscourt, and at his installation the Presbytery of Monaghan had permitted him to sign an unauthorized formula instead of the Westminster Confession, although several members had protested against the proceedings. The Synod, therefore, at this session required Mr. Fleming to sign the Confession in the regular form, and ordered that for the future one formula, namely, that of the General Synod, shall be used in all the Presbyteries.

The Synod, while thus guarding the general course of their ministers, was too indulgent to particular cases of unsoundness, as appears from the example of Thomas Thompson, who had been charged by one Galey as preaching, that morality is the foundation of religion. When brought before the Presbytery Thompson had denied the charge, and Galey not being able to prove it, he was censured. When it appeared on

appeal before the Synod, Thompson acknowledged in the main the charge, but declared that he did not mean to exclude the mediation of Jesus Christ, and that the way of salvation revealed in the gospel is only by the merits and satisfaction of a Redeemer. Whereupon the Synod accepted the explanation, and rebuked Galey for his rashness.

At the time the Synod was occupied with this case a deputation from the Burgher Presbytery of Glasgow were engaged in the installation of the Rev. Andrew Black in the congregation of Boardmills, and in the same month the Rev. Thomas Mayn was installed at Ballyroney, both being Burghers; and on the same day the Rev. David Arrott was settled at Market-hill, by a deputation from the Anti-Burgher Presbytery of Glasgow. Hitherto, Mr. Patton, of Lylehill, had been the only member of the Associate Presbytery settled in Ireland. Though attacked in print by Colville, Delap and Lynd, they continually gained new influence, and spread a pure gospel among the masses, in opposition both to heresy and the moderatism of the Ulster Synod.

## CHAPTER XXV.

1750-1770.

THOUGH the Sacramental Test was still in force, the Irish Presbyterians were exempted from its operation, by acts of indemnity passed from time to time, throughout the reign of George II. and part of George III's. These acts were the dictates of political necessity, the safety of the country being imperiled by the appearance of the Pretender, while the loyalty of the Romish population could not be depended upon. While the population of Ulster was prevented from increasing by a succession of hard winters and bad harvests, and an extensive emigration to America, the Presbyterian part of it was growing at the rate of one new church per annum, for a period of thirty years ; the whole number of ministers in 1751 being one hundred and fifty-one, besides thirteen in the Presbytery of Antrim.

This increase diminishing the amount of Regium Donum received by each, repeated efforts were made for the augmentation of its aggregate amount, which was seconded by Lord Chesterfield and Alexander Stewart, a staunch Presbyterian, father of the first Lord Londonderry, and grandfather of the great Lord Castlereagh, who was baptized in the Presbyterian Church, though educated an Episcopalian. The last attempt of this kind made for many years was in 1749.



The sum now received by each minister amounted to little more than £9 annually. A double portion was voluntarily given to a few of the ministers, who labored in feeble churches. Another benevolent arrangement of this period, which also occasioned some relief to the weaker congregations, was the plan of the wealthier churches contributing annually a fixed sum towards the support of those ministers whose congregations could give them but a small salary.

The income of most of the ministers of the General Synod at this period was so small that but few of them could lay up any provision for their families, and at every meeting of the Synod cases of distress urgently claiming their sympathy and aid were presented. As early as 1697 allowances were made out of the *Regium Donum* to the widows and families of ministers, and at different times afterwards steps were taken for the establishment of a permanent fund. But the system was matured by Sir William Bruce, an elder in Wood street Dublin, and adopted in 1750 by the Synod of Ulster. This institution, known as the "Widows' Fund," being thus established, the Presbytery of Antrim was invited to join in the scheme, which brought the two bodies often into contact and communication, and promoted their reunion. This union was also facilitated by the growth of New Light doctrine in the Synod. These views had been gradually growing stronger through the influence of the pupils of Professor Simpson, of Glasgow, and of Dr. William Hamilton and Dr. John Goady, of Edinburg. But of all those who filled chairs in the Scottish universities during the first half of the eighteenth century, no one was more influential in moulding the minds of young men prepar-

ing for the sacred office than Dr. Francis Hutcheson, Professor of Moral Philosophy, in Glasgow, who was the first to introduce the custom of lecturing in English into that university. So great was his reputation, that students flocked to his class not only from all parts of Scotland, but also from England and from Ireland. Dr. Witherspoon, a contemporary of Hutcheson, in his "Ecclesiastical Characteristics," represents him as the great promoter of that formal and heartless religion which prevailed so extensively in Scotland about the middle of the last century.

The colleagues of Dr. Hutcheson were nearly all men of kindred principles, among whom was Dr. William Leechman, who was appointed to the chair of Systematic Divinity in 1743, but was soon after arraigned by the Presbytery for heresy, but the prevalence of moderatism enabled him to escape. There is strong reason to believe that Leechman was a Unitarian in heart, and during the seventeen years in which he filled his chair, according to his biographer, "no decisive judgment on any great controverted point was ever delivered from that theological chair. After the point had undergone a full discussion, none of the students yet knew the particular opinion of this venerable Professor."

It was to the instruction given to the students at Glasgow that we trace the rise and increase of New Light principles in the Synod of Ulster. Efforts were made by the orthodox members of the Synod to stay the evil by passing resolutions to enforce subscription to the Westminster Confession, but it was apparent to all that the number of evangelical ministers was annually declining, and many of the people were passing

over to the Secession. The evil continued to increase, until in less than a quarter of a century after the separation of the Presbytery of Antrim, the New Light party had a complete preponderance of influence and talent in the Synod of Ulster.

While the moderatism of the Scottish colleges exercised a powerful influence upon Irish Presbyterians, the condition of the Episcopal Church, both in England and Ireland, had its effect. In Ireland there was not one active evangelical minister in the establishment, and scarcely a Bishop could be named who labored to promote the spiritual interests of his diocese. The Primate, Dr. Stone, was immersed in politics, and sacrificed religion and morality to gain adherents; and Bishop Clayton was an avowed and zealous Unitarian. In 1751 he published his famous "Essay on Spirit," which, if not written, was adopted by him, and addressed in a dedication to the Primate of Ireland. As its reputed author was a northern Prelate the ministers of the Synod of Ulster read it with avidity, by means of which the minds of some were unsettled.

Amidst this decline of the Ulster Synod, the Seceders were making steady progress. On the 11th of April 1750, the Reverend Alexander Stewart was ordained by the Anti-Burgher Presbytery of Glasgow, and settled in the congregation of Drumachose, and on the next day the first Associate Presbytery established in Ireland, consisting of Messrs. Patton, Arrott and Stewart was constituted at Arkilly, near Newtownlimavady, and in May 1751 the number was increased by the ordination and installation of Mr. John Tennant, a probationer of the Anti-Burgher Presbytery of



Edinburg, and in 1753 their number had increased to seven.

The Burghers were no less active and prosperous. Through the neglect of the Synod to establish new congregations, the Seceders gained many points of influence. At Clennanees the people had put up a small building with the consent of the Presbytery of Monaghan, where they were to have religious services once a month; but being greatly neglected they complained to the Synod in 1748 that no minister had preached to their congregation for several months, and gaining no relief it finally led to the settlement of a Burgher minister. At Newbliss, in the same Presbytery, through the apathy of the Synod a Seceding minister was also settled in 1753.

On the 23d of July 1751, Mr. Thomas Clark, a licentiate of the Burgher Presbytery of Glasgow, was ordained and settled at Ballibay, and on the next day the first Burgher Presbytery formed in Ireland was constituted, consisting of Messrs. Black, Mayn and Clark, and designated the "Associate Presbytery of Down." They were strengthened in 1753 by the addition of the Reverend Hugh M'Gill. The people of Newbliss, who had lately withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the Synod of Ulster, now invited Reverend John Thomson to become their pastor, and he was ordained on the 24th of August 1754, and in the next year Reverend John M'Auley, and the Reverend William Knox, were settled over Burgher congregations. Mr. Clark of Ballibay, who had formerly itinerated through Ulster and attracted attention by his uncouth dress and manner, published in 1754 a pamphlet entitled, "A Brief Survey, etc.," in answer to the attacks

on the Secession by Delap, Lynd, Peebles and others, which was answered in 1754 by the Reverend John Semple. In 1755, Mr. Clark rejoined in a pamphlet entitled, "New Light set in a Clear Light," and this closed the controversy. Public documents which are still extant illustrate the character of this devoted man, and attest with the utmost clearness that the spirit of God unequivocally acknowledged the ministry of the early Seceders.

While Mr. Clark was thus engaged in his labors in Ulster he became the victim of a conspiracy, formed by the Rev. James Jackson of Ballibay, whose congregation had been greatly diminished by his preaching. Accordingly, in the month of March, 1752, he was summoned to appear before the magistrates, on the ground that he held treasonable principles, and was designing against the House of Hanover. But those acquainted with the history of Mr. Clark knew that he hazarded his life in the service of his Sovereign, when the Pretender was in Scotland; but because he disapproved of the ordinary mode of swearing by kissing the gospel, which was opposed by the whole body of Seceders, and objected to the phraseology of a part of the oath of abjuration, the charge of treason was brought against him.

It appears that Mr. Clark had obtained some intimation of the plot, and had provided certificates from prominent men of his being a peaceable and faithful subject; but these were disregarded, and he was commanded to take the oath of abjuration in the usual form, which he refusing to do was fined. Not satisfied with this, his enemies, in the autumn of the same year, issued a second summons, which he fearing would be



attended with more serious consequences retired to Scotland, where he remained for three months. On his return, in January, 1754, he was again arrested and cast into prison, where he remained until April, but was liberated on account of an informality connected with his committal. Mr. Clark was the only Associate minister settled in Ireland who was imprisoned in consequence of his scruples relative to the oath of abjuration.

In May, 1764, Mr. Clark, with about three hundred other Presbyterian emigrants, removed to America in a vessel which had been sent to Narrowwater, near Newry, for the purpose of their conveyance. He died minister of a congregation at Long Cane, Abbeville, South Carolina, toward the end of the year 1792. One of his sons attained the dignity of an American judge.

The declining state of the Ulster Synod was indicated by the small attendance at its meetings, seldom more than one half, and sometimes scarcely one third, of the ministers being present. This led, at the Synod of 1752, to a renewed proposal for a delegated body; but this, though sent down to the Presbyteries, had no other effect than an attempt, in 1757, to constrain attendance.

At the annual meeting of the Synod in 1758 an attempt was made by the friends of the Non-Subscribers to renew their ecclesiastical intercourse, and a motion was unanimously adopted expressing the desire of the Synod that a correspondence should be held between all dissenting bodies for the purpose of "mutual encouragement in their general interest," and so that they might "appear to the world as one body," and engaged



in one common cause; and some ministers were appointed to write to the Presbytery of Antrim, and to Dr. Duchal, one of the Non-Subscribing ministers of Dublin, that correspondents might be sent to meet the next General Synod. This resolution was passed at a private meeting of the Synod, attended almost exclusively by ministers, and toward the close of the session; yet it illustrates the change which had taken place in the Synod of Ulster since 1726. It is not strange that it met with the ready acquiescence of the ministers who happened to be present, as they were now so generally infected with doctrinal errors. The respectability of some of the Non-Subscribers, as well as the high social position of some of the laity adhering to them, suggested to the members of the Synod that they would add to their own influence and credit by a renewal of ecclesiastical intercourse. The celebrated Dr. John Leland, minister of the Eustice street Church, Dublin, was a leading man among the Non-Subscribers, and his name led some to think more favorably of his views on ecclesiastical polity.

At the opening of the Synod of 1759 three delegates from the Presbytery of Antrim presented themselves as being commissioned, in answer to the resolution of the last Synod. This took many by surprise, as they did not consider the resolution of their private meeting as inviting the Non-Subscribers to a formal participation in their ecclesiastical deliberations; and in the explanations which followed some of the more zealous friends of the Non-Subscribers, among whom Mr. Cherry was still conspicuous, were much dissatisfied, and for several years afterwards there was but little correspondence between the two bodies. On the death

of George II., in 1760, the Synod and the Presbytery of Antrim united in an address of congratulation to the new Sovereign; and in order that they might "appear in the eyes of the world as one body," they agreed, on this occasion, to describe themselves as "the Presbyterian Ministers of the Northern Association in Ireland." They employed the same designation two years later, when congratulating George II. on the birth of the Prince of Wales.

For many years the ministers belonging to the General Synod and the Presbytery of Antrim had been trained under the same theological professors, which will account for their inclination to fraternize; and the dread of alienating the orthodox laity was the great reason why the majority of the Synod did not seek to consummate a union. The Seceders at this period did not make great progress, but two additions of ministers being made to their number from 1755 to 1763. This is partially accounted for from the poverty of the country, caused by a famine which affected Ulster in 1757, falling with the greatest severity upon the supporters of the Secession, who were principally from among the lower classes. Ministers and licentiates were unwilling to take charge of congregations, where there was little hope of a support.

At the Synod of 1760 the Rev. Charles Beatty, a member of the Presbytery of Philadelphia, presented an address from the Synod of Philadelphia and New York, setting forth the distressed condition of Presbyterian ministers in the new world, and earnestly applying for assistance. Mr. Beatty met with a most cordial reception from the Synod; and his description of the wretched condition of his brethren in America awak-

ened such a deep and general sympathy, that with great unanimity they appointed a day for taking up collections in all their congregations, in aid of the American sufferers. On this occasion the Irish Presbyterians, out of their deep poverty, contributed upwards of £400, which was acknowledged in a letter addressed to the Synod, dated February 12, 1763. A few years before this a petition was presented to the Synod by the Rev. Gilbert Tennent, a native of Ulster, in the name of the Synod of New York, and the trustees of the infant College of New Jersey, requesting "One Sabbath day's collection in the several congregations, to assist in the establishment of the new seminary." It is worthy of note here, that the Rev. Dr. Samuel Finley, President of the College of New Jersey from 1761 to 1766, was an emigrant from the province of Ulster, and a native of Armagh.

The doctrinal defection in the Synod of Ulster became evident at its meeting in 1763. The Rev. Gilbert Kennedy, who succeeded Kirkpatrick in the Non-Subscribing congregation of Belfast, although still connected with the Synod, opened the session with a sermon, for which he received the unanimous thanks of the house, and was requested to print it for public edification. This discourse is a specimen of the theology which the Synod was now disposed to patronize, and proves to what extent the largest section of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland had departed from its original principles. His allusion to the doctrines of the gospel are most vague and unsatisfactory ; and he obviously considers subscription to the Confession of Faith as the most intolerable of all ecclesiastical grievances. It is evident from the reception which his sermon received



from the Synod, that they were only restrained from an attempt to set aside, or at least modify, the standing order relative to subscription, by the attachment of the mass of the laity to the Westminster formularies.

Hesitating to make this change, they pursued the less constitutional way of conniving at the evasion of the law, as exhibited in a case before this Synod. The Rev. John Nelson had settled in Ballykelly, in October, 1762, and soon after awakened the indignation of his people by the manner in which he spoke of the Confession of Faith and its tenets, in his public services. Becoming more and more dissatisfied, they tabled a complaint against him before the Presbytery of Derry; but they, instead of examining the charges on the evidence, at first "enjoined" Mr. Nelson "to use his best endeavors to remove any suspicion" of his soundness in the faith, and then referred the whole case to the decision of the Synod. There could be no doubt of his heterodoxy, for in a published letter he denounces all creeds as "engines of discord;" describes Adam, when in Paradise, as "a mere simpleton, an abject slave of his appetites, and an easy dupe to importunity;" and asserts that "the bulk of the Christian world for thirteen hundred years past have not worshipped the true God, but one of their own invention." This last quotation is, perhaps, the first approach to an avowal of Unitarianism ever made by a minister who had been a member of the General Synod.

This case was brought before the Synod and examined in detail, and although Mr. Nelson admitted some of the counts in the indictment, and his defence on the other parts was suspicious and equivocal, the

Synod agreed to an almost unanimous verdict of "not proved."

The Synod, at its meeting in 1767, took another step towards a reunion with the Presbytery of Antrim. A resolution was unanimously adopted inviting the Non-Subscribing Presbytery to "correspond" with the Synod. The proposed correspondence was intended to bring the two bodies nearer together than they had ever been since the separation; it implied that they should send to the General Synod representatives who should be fully entitled to take part in all its deliberations. The Presbytery of Antrim, while they cordially accepted this invitation, at the same time stated that they did not intend to avail themselves of all the privileges which the Synod now desired to confer, expressing their readiness to give their opinion with freedom and candor when asked, but wished to be excused from giving their votes in anything that implied jurisdiction.

About the middle of this century two missionaries of the Reformed Presbyterian Church, or *Mountain Ministers*, as they were sometimes called, came over from Scotland and preached in various parts of Ulster, attracting considerable attention. These were the Rev. Thomas Cuthbertson, and the Rev. John Cameron. In 1752 Mr. Cuthbertson emigrated to America, under the direction of the Reformed Presbytery in Scotland; and in 1755 Mr. Cameron, renouncing the principles of the Covenanting Church, joined the Synod of Ulster, and was settled as minister of Dunluce. Soon after his settlement here he became infected with the New Light Divinity, and finally settled down in Unitarianism. In 1767 he published a tract, in which he en-

deavored to prove that "the several systems of human articles in the Reformed Churches have a direct tendency to root out all appearance of conscience and honesty from among men." Although this little work was published anonymously, yet its author soon became known; but instead of receiving ecclesiastical censure, he was the next year chosen moderator of the General Synod.

For twenty years the Synod of Ulster had been gradually degenerating, and the period just closing marks a dreary period in the history of the Presbyterian Church. From 1756 to 1769 only two congregations had been added to the Synod, and both of these met with much opposition. The Seceders were also in a declining state, and the reputation of their body was greatly injured by the unbecoming conduct of some of their ministers. The Reformed Presbyterians had a few feeble congregations to whom their ministers faithfully proclaimed the way of salvation, but their refusal to recognize the civil government of the county, and other peculiarities, were insuperable obstacles in the way of their prosperity.



## CHAPTER XXVI.

1770-1793.

THE state of the Church at the beginning of this period was evinced not only by cases of misconduct in its members but by its decline of members, fewness of candidates for the ministry, and the relaxation of the old rule both as to study and subscription, which last it was formally proposed to abolish, but the measure was abandoned for prudential reasons.

Soon after the resignation of Mr. Nelson of his charge at Ballykelly, Mr. Benjamin M'Dowel was appointed his successor. This excellent minister was born in Elizabethtown, New Jersey, and was for some time a student of the college at Princeton, from which he removed to the University of Glasgow, and was licensed by the Presbytery of Glasgow in 1765. He was a sound divine, a graceful and dignified speaker, a man of singular piety, and a most acceptable preacher, and was for fifty years a leading member of the Irish Church. Soon after his settlement in Ireland the Rev. John Cameron published his pamphlet against the subscription of creeds and confessions, which was answered the next year by M'Dowel, in a reply distinguished for its candor, modesty, and good sense. Mr. Cameron rejoined, and the controversy was continued for several years, throughout the whole of which Mr. M'Dowel conducted the argument with an ability and learning

alike creditable to himself and serviceable to the cause which he advocated ; and it was through his able vindication of the Westminster Standards that the law of subscription was not formally repealed.

The supporters of the Westminster Confession were now the minority in the Synod of Ulster, and in some Presbyteries this formulary was never mentioned in cases of license and ordination. The orthodox ministers, aware of their numerical inferiority, and the heterodox, afraid of creating discord in their congregations, were content that the law in regard to subscription should continue a dead letter. This condition of affairs is illustrated by the instance of a licentiate of the Presbytery of Templepatrick named Stephenson. Having received a call within the bounds of the Presbytery of Bangor, fears were entertained of his orthodoxy, which were augmented by his refusal to subscribe the Westminster Confession, and the Presbytery hesitated to install him. In the meantime the people, becoming impatient, threatened to join the Southern Association, or the Presbytery of Antrim, which decided the Presbytery to proceed, and he was ordained and installed on the 20th of June, 1774, six members protesting against the action. A few days after, the Synod met in Antrim and sustained the action of the Presbytery, and formed the dissentient members into a new Presbytery, entitled the Presbytery of Belfast. For more than fifty years the Presbytery of Bangor continued to license and ordain without any reference to the Confession, while the Presbytery of Belfast insisted steadily upon subscription.

The agrarian excesses began at this period to disturb various districts in the north of Ireland. Armed bands

of peasants, calling themselves *Hearts of Steel* and *Hearts of Oak*, went up and down the land administering illegal oaths, regulating rents, and committing outrages. The members of the Synod from the beginning condemned these proceedings, and attempted, in public and private, to put a stop to them; and one of their ministers, the Rev. Samuel Morell of Tullyish, was killed in 1772 in defending the house of a neighboring gentleman from their attack. The grievances which caused these outbreaks, unequal laws and tyranny of landlords, drove great numbers to America, and probably contributed to its separation from the mother country. Among those emigrants were several ministers from Ulster, both of the Synod and Secession, though the Anti-Burgher Synod (in Scotland) refused permission to their ministers in Ireland; but Martin, of Bangor, one of their number, did go over in 1773.

Externally the Presbyterian body was increasing in importance, as being a check or balance to the Papists. The passage of the Octennial Act limiting the duration of parliaments to eight years, gave still greater influence to the Presbyterians, who formed an overwhelming majority of the Ulster freeholders. But the Presbyterian influence was most felt in the organization of the Irish Volunteers. The regular troops being at this time engaged in the war in which the American colonies achieved their independence, and the dread of a French invasion being very general, the country was encouraged by government to take precautions for its own defence. Accordingly, the Protestants of the north formed themselves into companies, elected their officers, and assembled at stated times for drill. But their meetings assumed as much of a political as of a



military aspect; for on these occasions they heard patriotic speeches, passed bold resolutions, and sent forward petitions to Parliament. The first organization was at Belfast, and continued for fifteen years; and as the Presbyterians composed the great majority of the volunteers, their claims during that time received prompt and unwonted attention from the Legislature.

In June, 1778, about three months after the appearance of the Volunteers, an attempt was made in the Irish House of Commons to repeal the Sacramental Test. The Commons, fearing that the example of the American colonies might be followed in Ireland, deemed it prudent to make an effort to conciliate the Roman Catholics, and accordingly a bill was brought in for this purpose; and as the Sacramental Test formed a part of the statute for the discouragement of Popery, a clause was appended to the bill for its repeal. This bill was passed, and sent to England; but on its return the clause was found to have been thrown out. This caused great indignation in the Irish Commons, and Grattan publicly charged the supporters of the government with having insincerely consented to the introduction of the clause, merely that the bill might, in the first instance, pass the more easily through the Lower House of Parliament. "When it came back," said he, "the bait was off, and the naked hook discovered." The bill, as returned from England, was passed with difficulty.

But the demands of the Irish Protestants could not longer be neglected. Between August, 1778, and October, 1779, the Volunteers increased rapidly, so that on the reassembling of Parliament they amounted to

forty-two thousand men, and the demands of the people were made in a tone which could not be misunderstood. Accordingly, on the 12th of October, 1779, the first day of the session, a bill for the repeal of the Sacramental Test was introduced by Sir Edward Newenham, and was passed unanimously, and sent to the Lord Lieutenant, who, after much delay, sent it to England, from whence it was returned unaltered on the 11th of March, 1780; and as soon after as the forms of Parliament would admit it was passed into a law. The Presbyterians felt that they were indebted for this piece of tardy justice, not so much to the enlightened wisdom of fraternal rulers, as to the brilliant array of their own armed advocates. It is singular that the repeal of the Test Act is not even mentioned in any minute of the Synod of Ulster drawn up about this period.

On the 15th of February, 1782, a meeting of the Volunteers was held in Dungannon, embracing representatives from one hundred and forty-three corps. At this meeting the Presbyterians boldly asserted their independence of the Irish Legislature, and expressed their satisfaction at the repeal of the penal laws affecting the Roman Catholics, and resolutions to maintain the principles of constitutional freedom were passed. These resolutions were at once adopted with enthusiasm throughout the country; and as the government still refused to yield to the popular demands, a terrible convulsion appeared to be approaching. There were but five thousand regular troops in the country, whilst the Volunteers now amounted to nearly one hundred thousand well armed and well disciplined men, united and exasperated.

At this critical juncture the Lord Lieutenant sent in his resignation ; but before it was received in England a new administration had been formed, headed by the Marquis of Rockingham, and the Duke of Portland was appointed Viceroy of Ireland. The new government, though favorable to the extension of popular liberty, hesitated to accede to the demands of the Volunteers ; but the Lord Lieutenant, in a letter dated April 28, 1782, writes, "If you delay, or refuse to be liberal, government can not exist here in its present form ; and the sooner you recall your Lord Lieutenant, and renounce all claims to this country, the better." This decided the government, and it yielded. The Parliament of Ireland was relieved from the supervision of the English Privy Council, and various other measures calculated to appease the public discontent were legally confirmed. By an act of the Irish Parliament, marriages celebrated among Protestant Dissenters by their own ministers were declared valid. This was opposed by the High Church party in the House of Lords, but was finally carried. About the same time the Seceders were afforded some relief, by an act permitting them to take oaths by holding up the right hand, and repeating the words, "I do solemnly and sincerely swear before Almighty God." But at the same time it was provided that no Seceder should be qualified or admitted to give evidence in any criminal cause, or serve on juries, or hold any office or employment of trust under the Crown.

On the 8th of September, 1783, at the close of the general election, a second meeting of the Volunteers assembled in the Presbyterian Church at Dungannon. Two hundred and seventy-two companies were repre-



sented, and Colonel James Stewart of Killymoon presided over their deliberations. Having achieved the legislative independence of Ireland, they now demanded parliamentary reform; and to accomplish this a convention was appointed, to meet in Dublin in November; and five deputies were chosen to represent each county in Ulster, and the other three provinces were invited to send their delegates. They accordingly met at the appointed time, and presented the strange spectacle of a Parliament and an armed convention sitting at the same time, in the same metropolis. The House of Commons resented this attempt to intimidate it, and after sitting a few weeks the Convention adjourned *sine die*.

While affairs were in this condition the Rev. Dr. Campbell of Armagh arrived in Dublin for the purpose of getting an augmentation of the Regium Donum. The result of his application was an addition to the Royal Bounty of £1,000, which created much disappointment, as it was well understood that the Duke of Portland had recommended an increase of from £5,000 to £10,000 per annum. When the intelligence of the amount reached Dr. Campbell, he expressed to the Lord Lieutenant his regret that it was so small, to which he answered: "A larger sum had been intended, but that it was opposed by men of power in this kingdom, with whom the public business was transacted." At this same period the Seceders received a bounty of £500 per annum, through the exertion of the Earl of Hillsborough, to whose son, Lord Kilwarlin, they had rendered efficient service in the recent election. Thus, within forty years after the ordination of its first minister, the Irish Secession Church was encouraged by princely patronage.

This grant being made to the Associate ministers, whether Burghers or Anti-Burghers, they were led to confer together with a view to the adjustment of their differences; and at a meeting all the elders, and all the ministers but one, were prepared to consent to certain terms of accommodation. But at this point the Anti-Burgher Synod of Scotland interposed and prevented the union. The three Irish Burgher Presbyteries had already been formed into a Synod in 1779, and was not subject to the Scottish court of the same name, but was recognized by it as possessed of coördinate authority, so that it could act independently in regard to the question of union. The two Irish Anti-Burgher Presbyteries were soon afterwards divided into four, and formed into a Synod, which met for the first time in Belfast in August 1788, but they still acknowledged the supervision of the Synod in Scotland, which for a long time prevented the union.

Towards the close of the year 1786 a work from the pen of Dr. Woodward, Bishop of Cloyne, appeared, which passed through nine editions in a few months, the object of which was to show that the established Church was necessary to the national prosperity. This book was answered, among others, by the Rev. Dr. Campbell of Armagh, who proves conclusively that the Presbyterian Church, instead of being unworthy of national confidence, has always been the best friend of the British Constitution, whereas prelacy has more than once brought the state to the very verge of ruin. This work of Campbell was answered by the Rev. Dr. Joseph Stock, an ex-fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, and afterwards Bishop successively of Killala and Waterford. Dr. Campbell replied to Stock, and here



the controversy ended. None of these able clergymen were truly orthodox or evangelical.

During the course of this controversy the Seceders and the Reformed Presbytery, which had recently been extending its influence in the northern province, came into collision, which resulted in an oral disputation on the distinctive tenets of their sects, by Rev. John Rogers of the Seceders, and Mr. James M'Garragh, a licentiate of the Reformed Presbytery.

The Synod held its annual meeting in 1789 at Lurgan, and the Rev. James Douglas of Clough was elected moderator; he was one of the officers of the Volunteers and seems to have valued himself on his fine military appearance, as he frequently preached in his regimentals. This Synod was more numerously attended than any that had been held since the commencement of the Subscription controversy. One of its acts was to confirm the appointment of the Rev. Robert Black, the Synod's agent for the *Regium Donum*, in the place of Mr. James Lang. Mr. Black had been elected to this post at a special meeting of the Synod, but as it had been objected to as irregular, the Synod took this opportunity to sanction its former action. Mr. Black was a leading man among the Presbyterian ministers of Ulster, and well qualified in every respect for the office. Shortly after the general election in 1790, hearing that some of the members of the Irish Parliament were disposed to support a motion for an increase of the Royal Bounty, he employed all the energy and address which he possessed in forwarding the design. Accordingly the subject was introduced into the House of Commons at the suggestion of the Earl of Charlemont, and was cordially taken up by



Mr. Grattan, Colonel Stewart and others, and an address was prepared asking for the increase and forwarded to the King. But, as it subsequently appeared, the wishes of the Commons had been anticipated; for by a King's letter dated January 21, 1792, an additional sum of five thousand pounds per annum was granted "during pleasure, for the use of the Presbyterians in Ireland," including the Seceders, who, through the influence of the Earl of Hillsborough, (now the Marquis of Downshire,) got the largest share.

The Royal Bounty was now trippled, but the fifteen years from 1779 to 1793 showed a fearful growth of error. In 1782 the Presbytery of Killileagh published a series of resolutions in which the doctrine of imputed sin is spoken of as blasphemous, yet the Synod did nothing but pronounce the statement as "highly imprudent and offensive." The year before it was announced that the Presbytery of Armagh no longer required Subscription of its candidates, but the Synod deferred the discussion, and in the Synod of next year, the subject coming up, it was suggested that without a resolution to the contrary, existing arrangements must continue, and as no one wished to propose a repeal of the law the following remarkable minute was adopted:—"The affair of Subscription deferred to this session being resumed, this motion was made—If no one move for a repeal of the rule respecting Subscription, then the rule shall remain in full force; and as no one moved for its repeal, the rule continued." The New Light party seeing that they had thus sanctioned the stringent observance of the law, at the Synod in 1783, introduced a resolution which was passed unanimously that the words "full force," in the entry of

the preceding year should be erased and the words "as usual" inserted in their place. As the law was now usually neglected, the orthodox party found that they had been entrapped, and at the meeting of 1784, on their motion "it was moved and agreed to, that the word 'usual' was vague and improper, and that the word 'full' in the former minute was unnecessary; that neither of these terms be used, and that the words of the minute stand—that the rule respecting subscription is *unrepealed*." For upwards of forty years afterwards the Synod continued in this uncomfortable and anomalous condition.

It is an instructive fact that error was most prevalent in the Synod of Ulster when the course of education prescribed for students of theology was most limited. All the theological study now required was a single session of five months, so that some of the ministers scarcely felt themselves competent for the preparation of sermons, and one minister of better capacity not unfrequently supplied discourses to a number of his brethren in his neighborhood. The Rev. John Cameron of Dunluce, declared to his intimate friends that "his discourses were preached to *six* congregations every Sabbath day," and the Rev. Andrew Alexander of Urney is known to have assisted his brethren in the same way.

This neglect of education was brought before the Synod of 1784, and the Rev. William Crawford of Strabane was encouraged to undertake the tuition of students in logic, mathematics and moral philosophy, and several ministers of the Synod of Ulster were educated by him, but not being remunerative, his school was in a few years discontinued. In 1786

the Belfast Academy was opened, but it does not appear that it was ever attended by any considerable number of professional students, and the students of Ulster were compelled still to resort to the Universities of Scotland.

Church extension also kept pace with these other interests. For twenty years, from 1769 to 1789, only two or three churches were erected, and those not as regular additions to the Synod, which resolved in 1770 to recognize no congregation which could not give security for a stipend of £50. Meantime the Seceders were increasing; and in 1792 a Reformed Presbytery was organized in Ireland, over which the Rev. William Staveland was the great apostle.

Political and military movements had secularized many of the Irish Presbyterians, so that the Sabbath and the Church were desecrated by political and military meetings, and strict observance of the day became a badge of Old Light Presbyterians. Even the Covenanters did not escape the influence of this "military mania," the Rev. William Staveland appearing on one occasion as "reviewing general" of the Volunteers. The Seceders, on the other hand, assembled vast crowds at their sacraments, which led to great abuses. But low as the Presbyterian Church had sunk, the Establishment was lower still, both as to doctrine and morality. "Cursing" curates were not unknown; and Bishop Law of Clonfert, as the best thing he could do for Roman Catholics, circulated among them the insidious work of Gothe. Yet several Presbyterians of the highest rank now joined the Church of Ireland, as the more respectable and fashionable.



## CHAPTER XXVII.

1793-1818.

THOUGH the volunteers were now dissolved, and the elective franchise granted to the Roman Catholics, the cry for parliamentary reform, begun in 1783, grew louder, and seemed likely to be answered by the appointment of Earl Fitzwilliam as Lord Lieutenant, among whose schemes was the endowment of a Roman Catholic college at Maynooth, and a Presbyterian one at Cookstown. But Earl Fitzwilliam was suddenly recalled, and his successor did not carry out the latter plan, though Maynooth was endowed. His removal was followed by intense political excitement, and a great increase of immorality and infidelity. The Peep-of-Day Boys, the Defenders, and the Orangemen, were carrying on a civil war. The most dangerous of these organizations was that of the United Irishmen, in 1798, designed to separate Ireland from England, as an independent republic. This has been charged upon the Roman Catholics and Presbyterians, but the leaders belonged chiefly to the Established Church, and many were connected with Trinity College, Dublin, although both these institutions used their influence against it.

In 1793, when the proceedings of the French republicans were attracting much attention, and many were cherishing treasonable designs, the Synod of Ulster issued a declaration in favor of parliamentary reform,

but against all visionary schemes, popular tumult, and foreign aid. Throughout the next five years the Irish Presbyterian ministers continued faithfully to act up to the sentiments of this declaration. Dr. Black, the leader of the Synod, incurred great obloquy and risk in 1793 by his public opposition to "Seditious spirits and unproved theories." He acknowledged that great abuses existed in the constitution, which ought to be redressed, but he knew of none which would justify the risk of a civil war. Even in Belfast, the headquarters of this movement, it was openly denounced by Dr. Bruce and other leading Presbyterians, as it was by Dr. M'Dowell in Dublin, who united with others in special prayer, on Friday evenings, for divine protection. When the wide-spread influence of the United Irishmen is considered, it is remarkable how few of the Presbyterian ministers were implicated in the rebellion. Of the fifty or sixty Seceding ministers not one in twelve was implicated, whereas two of the nine ministers of the Antrim Presbytery were obliged to leave the country, and a third was imprisoned for some time; and as many of the eight or nine covenanting ministers were compromised, besides two young men who had just finished their studies, and who afterwards became distinguished in America, Dr. Wylie of Philadelphia, and Dr. Black of Pittsburg. Daniel English, a young Covenanter, was executed on the bridge at Connor. He was a pious and amiable youth, and it was believed that the evidence on which he was convicted was untrue. He was conducted from the guard-house in Ballymena to Connor, a distance of about four miles, dressed in his grave clothes, and accompanied by a large concourse, who joined together in

singing the 119th Psalm. As the sad company traveled along, the "grave sweet melody" of so many voices echoed from hill to hill, and produced a most solemn impression.

The year 1798 was one of the darkest in the civil history of Ireland. Acts of rapine and violence were committed in open day, and informers were encouraged by the government, even when guilty of the most horrid crimes. The insurrection in Ulster was confined to the counties of Down and Antrim, and even here it was suppressed in a few days. During this state of tumult the Anti-Burgher Presbytery held no meeting, and the Burgher Presbytery, which met on the 3d of July, broke up on the same day. The Synod of Ulster did not meet until the close of August, when it assembled at Lurgan, under the protection of the troops in the northern districts. The French, under General Humbert, had now landed at Killala; but the Synod did not hesitate to express its disapprobation of the conduct of those under their care who had violated their allegiance. The sum of £500 was voted to the government for the defence of the kingdom, and an address issued to their congregations, remonstrating with those who had engaged in the rebellion, at the same time expressing their satisfaction that so few of their people were implicated. In the reports of the Presbyteries to the Synod of 1799, it appeared that very few of the Presbyterian ministers had been engaged in the rebellion, and that but one had suffered capitally. This was the Rev. James Porter, of Greyabbey, who was condemned by a court-martial, and executed in his own church on the 2d of July, 1798. A son of Mr. Porter was a United States Senator from



Louisiana, and died in 1844—and another son became Attorney General of the same State. Three other ministers, James Simpson, John Glendy, and Thomas L. Birch, were allowed to emigrate to America.

It is worthy of notice that a large proportion of those implicated were New Lights, among the rest William Steel Dickson, D. D., who is said to have been appointed commander of the rebels for the county of Down, and was imprisoned for three years at Fort George, in Scotland; and although he was again settled after his liberation, he was refused his share in the *Regium Donum*, and died a pauper in Belfast. The suppression of this rebellion put an end to the political and military mania of the Presbyterians, and was followed by some faint indications of the subsequent revival.

The scheme of a legislative union between Ireland and Great Britain was recommended to the Presbyterians and Roman Catholics, as likely to promote a liberal policy towards them, as the Established Church would then be safe, being sustained by a majority of the whole confederated population. No doubt several prospective advantages were held out to the members of the Synod of Ulster to induce them to acquiesce in the arrangement, and among others the proposition of Lord Cornwallis in 1799, to erect a Presbyterian university at Armagh, and to send a royal commissioner to the Synod: but the latter was objected to by the leading ministers, and the former by the English Cabinet. It was proposed, however, to enlarge the Royal Bounty, and to change the mode of distribution, by classifying the ministers, and giving a large sum to a

few, a smaller sum to a larger number, and a sum still smaller to the mass.

This was opposed in Synod as destroying the parity of ministers, and defended on the ground that some required more than others; that the larger livings would excite the emulation of young ministers; and that the clergy would be less dependent on the government. The real motive was the contrary however. The Synod of 1800 tried to obtain an alteration of this plan, but it was finally accepted in 1803, in a modified form, by dividing the one hundred and eighty ministers into three equal classes of sixty-two each, and giving them respectively one hundred, seventy-five, and fifty pounds each. The Seceders did not share in this, their patron, the Marquis of Downshire being dead, his son out of favor for opposing the union, and his grandson under age.

Dr. Black was appointed agent for the distribution of the Royal Bounty, with a salary from the government of £400 a year. This system of distribution was very unpopular among the ministers of the Synod, and Dr. Black, who had been active in its arrangement, became estranged from his brethren; and under the labor and anxiety of his agency, his body and mind both became seriously impaired. Hitherto the state provision had yielded the recipient only about £32 a year, but under the present rate of distribution it became necessary to increase the aggregate amount to £8,000 or £9,000 per annum. This liberal increase has been repaid by the influence of the Presbyterian Church in favor of the British connection, and of good order, making military protection needless; and not only reducing the amount of pauperism, but helping to pay the debts of other provinces.



The internal condition of the Synod was less satisfactory. Dr. Black himself was supposed to be an Arian, and many of the ministers were understood to hold the same views. The line between Subscribers and Non-Subscribers was almost effaced. The Presbytery of Antrim voted in the Synod; and its licentiates, with those of the Southern Association, were, by the Synod of 1805, treated on equal terms with those of Ulster. But symptoms of revival now appeared. The Synod of 1803 recommended attention to family worship, and orthodox young ministers began to multiply, among whom were Samuel Hanna of Belfast, and Booth Caldwell of Sligo. An Evangelical Association had been formed in 1798, for home missions in Ulster, composed chiefly of Seceders, but with some from the Synod of Ulster and the Established Church. It coöperated with the London Missionary Society, but being declared in 1799 by the Associate Synods as inconsistent with "Secession Testimony," led some Seceders to become Independents.

This increase of congregationalism had its influence upon some of the members of the Synod of Ulster, who were induced to adopt Independent principles. Among these was the Rev. Alexander Carson, who becoming dissatisfied with the Presbyterian system, withdrew from the Synod in 1805, and joined the Baptists. The Secession Church was in a better condition; and in the seventeen years between 1792 and 1809 they had nearly doubled their number, having now ninety-one ministers in Ireland. The Associate ministers had condemned the Synod of Ulster for submitting to the classification in the distribution of the Royal Bounty, but in 1809 themselves received an augmentation on



the same terms, but of less amount. Those in the first class were to receive only £70 per annum ; those in the second, £50 ; and those in the third £40.

This created a great sensation throughout the Secession Church in Ireland. Congregational meetings were called, resolutions adopted, and the classification denounced. The greatest opposition came from the twenty-four Anti-Burgher ministers, most of whom were in the lowest class, and it was supposed that this had some effect in exciting their opposition. But at last the Bounty was accepted by all but the Rev. James Bryce, of Killeag, who was suspended in 1811, as an agitator, and became the founder of a small sect, as he is the father of distinguished teachers at Belfast, Glasgow and Edinburg. The Covenanters, who refused all bounty from the State, now profited by these divisions, and from nine or ten ministers at the beginning of the century, they had increased to four Presbyteries, the eastern, the western, the northern, and the southern, forming a Reformed Presbyterian Synod. This increase was mainly owing to their faithful preaching, which began to be imitated in the Synod of Ulster. From the year 1808 Arian ministers were succeeded by orthodox, and Dr. Cook, in his testimony before the Commission of Education in 1825, says : "I was ordained in 1808 ; I believe I succeeded an Arian ; another friend was ordained in 1808, and he succeeded an Arian, or one very near to it ; another friend succeeded, in like manner, a very decided Arian ; and another friend another Arian—until in one whole district, which was twenty years ago entirely Arian, I do not know of one single minister you could suspect of Arianism except one."

Simultaneous, and connected with this change, was the increased circulation of the Scriptures. At the annual meeting of the General Synod in 1807 several ministers were appointed to devise means for supplying Bibles on easy terms to the humbler class of Presbyterians ; and in 1809 the committee reported that "their success had exceeded their expectations," and that they had received remittances for Bibles and Testaments to the amount of more than a thousand pounds ; and in 1811 they announced that the formation of different branches of the Hibernian Bible Society in the province had in a great degree superseded the necessity of their labors. A case of discipline which occurred about this time attracted much attention. In 1809 the minister of Ballee had been permitted to resign his charge, and was soon after suspended for immoral practices by the Presbytery of Bangor. He appealed to the Synod, and during the progress of the case avowed himself a Unitarian, but was allowed to retain his charge notwithstanding a protest of seventeen ministers made at the next meeting of Synod, on the ground that the doctrine of the Trinity was fundamental, and that its denial was utterly subversive of Christianity. At this meeting of Synod the first interest in foreign missions was manifested, by a notice of Mr. Hanna, of Belfast, that he would apply to the Synod next year to assist the society lately formed in London for promoting the conversion of the Jews ; but at the meeting of 1812 this motion was not called up, on account of the appearance of the Rev. Dr. Waugh, as a deputy from the London Missionary Society, asking to be heard by the Synod. This request was opposed by some of the members, who openly denounced the idea of missions to the

heathen as absurd and utopian. But, through the influence of Mr. Hanna, and Mr. Henry, of Connor, Dr. Waugh was allowed to proceed, and, "he had not spoken half an hour, when there was not a dry eye to be seen among all his auditors." From that day, as far as the Synod was concerned, every pulpit was opened to the deputation of the London Missionary Society.

The Synod of 1806 had petitioned the Duke of Bedford, then Lord Lieutenant, in behalf of education for the children of the poor, without any practical result; but in 1809 the Synod countenanced the establishment of the Belfast Academical Institution, and in 1813 recognized its certificates as equivalent to the diplomas of foreign universities. In 1815 the Rev. Samuel Edgar of the Burgher Synod lectured in the Academical Institution, which was now in the receipt £1,500 a year from the government.

The influence of this institution was very beneficial to the inhabitants of Belfast, but throughout its existence it struggled against great opposition. In 1816 the government had withdrawn its bounty, and thus deprived of parliamentary sanction, and not being competent to confer academical honors, the Rev. Dr. Black, one of its most determined enemies, argued that it would detract from the respectability of the Irish Presbyterian Church were it to recognize candidates for the ministry trained up in such an institution; and at the meeting of Synod in 1816 he made an effort to induce the Synod to rescind the resolutions of the previous year, but his attempt was unsuccessful. The Synod took measures for endowing a professorship of Divinity and Church History, and adjourned, to



meet at Cookstown in November for the purpose of electing a Professor; but at the time appointed it was discovered that but little progress had been made in collecting funds, and that without proper maintenance no man of learning could be found to occupy the chair.

At the same time another difficulty arose. Lord Castlereagh, now secretary of state for foreign affairs, objected to any connection between the Synod and the Institution. When reminded by deputies from the Synod that according to the arrangements made in 1803, at the time of the augmentation of the Royal Bounty, the state was pledged not to interfere with the Synod's discipline, Castlereagh asked if the deputies regarded the question of collegiate education as an affair of discipline; and when answered in the affirmative, he replied that he could not accede to that interpretation. At the meeting of the Synod in 1817 the deputation reported their interview with Castlereagh, and Dr. Black, who was understood to be in his confidence, intimated that if the Synod continued its connection with the Belfast Academy the Regium Donum would probably be withdrawn from the young men educated there. It was the prevailing impression throughout the House that a blow was aimed at the independence of the Church, and that the Synod had reached a most important crisis in its history, and yet the older members hesitated to come forward and repel the aggressions.

At this point the Rev. James Carlisle, of Mary's Abbey, Dublin, one of the youngest ministers, in a speech worthy, it is said, of the days of Knox and Melville, justified the course of the Synod. The bold address

of the young pastor carried the Synod with him, and the resolution, that "the regulations for the education of young men intended for the ministry are strictly a matter of discipline," was carried by an overwhelming majority. The Synod immediately proceeded to an election of a Professor of Divinity and Church History, and the Rev. Samuel Hanna, of Belfast, was chosen, without any opposition from the New Lights, who now felt themselves to be in a minority. The same Synod doubled the length of the curriculum, by making it two sessions of six months, and the Irish candidates began to study at Belfast instead of going abroad. Dr. Black, whose influence was visibly declining, on the 4th of December, 1817, in a fit of insanity, threw himself from the bridge in Derry and was drowned.

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

1818-1841.

VARIOUS attempts had been made since the beginning of the century to unite the Burghers and Anti-Burghers, but had been defeated by the Anti-Burgher Synod in Scotland. At length the Anti-Burgher Synod in Ireland declared itself independent of the Scottish Synod, and a basis of union being agreed upon, united with the Burghers on the 9th of July, 1818, under the designation of "The Presbyterian Synod of Ireland, distinguished by the name of Seceders." The Rev. James Rentoul of Ray was chosen the first Moderator. The united Church numbered ninety-seven ministers.

They immediately entered upon the work of Church extension, establishing preaching stations in towns and villages where Presbyterians were before comparatively unknown, and in 1822 settled the Rev. Josias Wilson over a new Church in Drogheda.

The Ulster Synod also became active as a missionary body, in conjunction with the Southern Association, now called the Synod of Munster. Among its first missionary agents, were James Horner, Robert Stewart, and Henry Cooke, through whose efforts a Church was established at Carlow. The Presbyterians of this place had formerly belonged to the Southern Synod,



but the Society becoming extinct about the year 1750, had applied, by advice of the missionaries, to be taken under the care of the Synod of Ulster. This request was granted, and this Church, the first fruits of modern missionary zeal in Ireland, obtained for its minister James Morgan, a young man who had been a member of the first class of the first theological professor ever formally appointed by the Synod of Ulster; on the 21st of June, 1820, he was ordained and installed the pastor. The Synod of Munster passed a vote of thanks to these missionaries for their services, and sent a letter to the Synod of Ulster expressing their readiness to assist them in extending Presbyterianism in the south. These bodies, with the Presbytery of Antrim, had been drawing nearer to each other since the accession of George III., in 1760. When George IV. visited Ireland in 1821, they waited upon him in a body, led by the three moderators, and the King appeared to be greatly gratified by this manifestation of loyalty on the part of his Irish Presbyterian subjects.

In the meantime the Synod of Ulster was constantly becoming more evangelical, and its connection with the other bodies was terminated by its code of discipline, proposed in 1808 by Horner, prepared by him and two others, to whom Cooke was added in 1819, and, after various revisions, finally adopted in 1824. This code ignored the anomalous position which the Munster Synod and New Lights had long occupied, and required Presbyteries to ascertain the soundness of their candidates, either by examination or by subscription to the Westminster Confession, which had been disused for half a century, (though not entirely,) except in the five Presbyteries of Belfast, Dromore, Dub-

lin, Route, and Tyrone. This requisition was hailed by the Arians as a formal abrogation of Subscription! But in 1821 Henry Cooke, who had removed three years before from Donegore to Killileagh, in the Presbytery of Dromore, aided by his elder, Captain Sydney Hamilton Rowan, son of the famous Archibald Hamilton Rowan, came forward as the public opponent of Unitarianism, following Smithurst, an emissary of the English Unitarian Fund Association, from place to place, and refuting him.

In the Synod of 1822 Cooke denounced the appointment of Mr. Bruce, an accomplished scholar but a Unitarian, as Professor of Greek in the Belfast Institution. Soon after, the professor's father Dr. Bruce, of Belfast, published a volume of sermons, described by one of his own party as the first printed avowal and defence of Unitarians in Ireland since the days of Embyn, in 1702. His statement in the preface, that his principles were silently spreading in the Synod, was publicly contradicted in that body in 1824. These sermons called forth a powerful "Refutation of Arianism," by the Rev. John Paul, a Covenanting minister at Carrickfergus.

In the meantime Mr. Cooke was chosen moderator of the Synod of Ulster, and while in that office was called upon by the Irish Education Commission to testify in reference to the Irish Presbyterian Church. He stated that of two hundred ministers connected with it, about thirty-five were Arians. The clerk, the Rev. William Porter, was also examined, and owned himself an Arian, and said that it was growing among the "thinking few," and that there were "more real Arians than professed ones." The report of the commissioners was printed early in 1827, and this evidence caused



great excitement. In the Synod of that year, held at Strabane, the Rev. Robert Magill, of Antrim, moved to displace Porter as clerk, but it was not carried, though his evidence was censured. Mr. Cooke then moved a declaration of belief in the words of the Shorter Catechism concerning the Trinity, which led to the most exciting debate which had occurred for a century. Among others the Rev. Henry Montgomery, of Dunmurry, made a most eloquent speech against the motion; but after two days discussion it was carried by a vote of one hundred and seventeen ministers and eighteen elders, against two ministers, and eight who declined voting. After the adjournment of the Synod, Mr. Paul reappeared in a review of Montgomery's speech, and a defence of creeds and confessions.

The Synod of 1828 met at Cookstown on the 28th of June, and was the most numerous ever known, and Cooke moved a series of overtures, requiring candidates to be examined both at the beginning and at the end of their course, by a committee of Synod, as to personal religion and soundness in the faith, especially in reference to the Trinity, Original Sin, Justification by Faith, and Regeneration by the Holy Spirit. After a debate of two days they were carried by a vote of ninety-nine ministers and forty elders, against forty ministers and seventeen elders, the minority including many Trinitarians who thought less stringent measures sufficient for the reformation of the Church. But Cooke, now the leader of the Old Lights, was sustained by an immense majority of the laity, and ably seconded in Synod by the Rev. Robert Stewart, of Broughshane, recently distinguished by his tri-



umph over a Romish priest in oral discussion at Ballymena. By the passage of these overtures, Arians were effectually excluded from the ministry of the Synod of Ulster, and the Synodical committee now appointed was entirely composed of Trinitarians, the Arians on the 16th of October adopted a Remonstrance setting forth their grievances, and threatening to withdraw unless they were redressed.

A few days before the meetings of the Synod of 1829 an election took place for a Professor of Moral Philosophy in the Belfast Institution in the place of the Rev. John Young, who had died the preceding March. The moderator of the Synod, who was one of the electors, nominated the Rev. James Carlisle, of Mary's Abbey, Dublin, as the candidate of the Synod, but to the surprise of the community Mr. John Ferrie, a licentiate of the Church of Scotland, was elected. The defeat of Carlisle was supposed to be the result of an able defence of the divinity of Christ, which he had recently published. At the meeting of the Synod at Lurgan on the 30th of June, the subject of the election was brought under discussion, and a warm debate occurred between Cooke and Montgomery, which lasted several hours, and resulted in the triumph of the former.

On account of the time absorbed in this discussion the Synod was unable to touch the subject of the overtures passed at the previous session, and a special meeting was appointed, to be held at Cookstown in the following August. This meeting was not attended by the New Lights (by arrangement), except Porter, who presented an address and their Remonstrance, signed by eighteen ministers, fifteen licentiates and students, one hundred and ninety-seven elders, one hundred

and thirty-eight committee-men, and three hundred and fourteen seatholders, a smaller number than are found in some single congregations. The overtures were debated for several sessions, and the committee for the examination of candidates was reappointed by a vote of seventy-four ministers and all the elders, to three ministers, and three not voting. Some of the orthodox objected to it as interfering with the rights of Presbyteries.

In the address presented by Mr. Porter the Unitarians had requested that in the event of the confirmation of the overtures a committee should be appointed for the purpose of arranging "a friendly and Christian separation." This was agreed to by the Synod, and on the 9th of September an amicable separation was arranged, the remonstrants retaining their share in the Regium Donum and the Widows' Fund; and more recently the Dissenters' Chapels Act has secured them in the possession of their houses of worship. On the 25th of May they assembled in Belfast and organized the "Remonstrant Synod of Ulster." In 1853 it had under its care twenty-seven or twenty-eight congregations, and making, with the Presbytery of Antrim and the Synod of Munster, forty-two churches and about fifty ministers, with a population of from fifteen to twenty thousand.

This triumph of Orthodoxy was in great part owing to the constant use of the Westminster Shorter Catechism among the people, even in the worst of times, so that at least a quarter of a century before the Arian controversy it was hard for a New Light to obtain a settlement. Had the Arians continued in the Synod, they would probably have soon died out without ex-



cision, and the narrative of their overthrow and separation supplies a striking proof of the conservative energy of Presbyterian government. A doctrinal reformation, so rapid and so complete, has never yet been effected in any Church, either Independent or Prelatic.

Late in 1829 Cooke, whose popularity was now unbounded, was removed to a new Church in Belfast. The Synod of 1830, which met at Omagh, was perfectly quiet, and appointed the Rev. James Seaton Reid (the historian) their clerk, in the place of Porter. Mr. Reid had been moderator in 1827, and was made Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Belfast, in 1838, and in 1841, Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical and Civil History at Glasgow. One effect of the change which had now taken place in the Synod was the improvement of church buildings throughout Ulster. It appears that from 1827 to 1837, one hundred and seventy congregations had expended £107,000 for this purpose. In a year from the Synod of 1828, eleven new churches were organized; and in ten years between 1829 and 1839, more were added than in the previous century. Another effect was the improvement in theological education. In 1835 Samuel Davidson became Professor of Biblical Criticism, and in 1837 J. S. Reid was appointed to lecture on Ecclesiastical History and Pastoral Theology; and in 1840 another session was added to the course. Another effect was the increase of missionary zeal. The Ulster Home Missionary Society, which was founded in 1826, became extinct in 1829; but at the Synod of 1830 the Presbyterian Missionary Society was founded, for the purpose of reviving and extending vital religion among Presbyterians



in Ireland. In 1833 the Synod instructed the Dublin Presbytery to prepare a scheme of foreign missions ; and no one had a greater share in fostering this missionary spirit than the Rev. James Morgan, of Belfast, who, in 1828, organized a new church in that city, and in 1852 the contributions of this one church for the support of the Gospel were more than treble the amount bestowed by Charles II. on the Presbyterians of Ireland.

From 1831 to 1840 the Church was agitated by the national education question, but in that year the Synod accepted the modified system of the government. In the meantime steps were taken to consolidate the strength of the Irish Presbyterians. In 1829 the Rev. John Brown, of Aghadoey, proposed to require Subscription from all candidates for licence or ordination ; and in 1832 the Synod adopted an overture prescribing a formula of Subscription, but making no provision for the scruples of some in regard to certain points, and it soon became necessary, for the peace of the Church, to return to the original practice of absolute Subscription. In 1835 a motion to this effect was carried, by a vote of ninety-four ministers and thirty-one elders, against twenty ministers and eight elders. This measure was quickly followed by a renewal of communion with the Church of Scotland, which had been interrupted by the act of 1799, and the retaliatory act of 1808, excluding Scottish ministers and licentiates from the Irish pulpits, although this act was modified the next year so as merely to exclude them from vacancies and settlements.

After the overture of 1835 in favor of unqualified Subscription, the General Assembly, in which the

Evangelicals had lately gained the upper hand, unanimously agreed to receive the Irish ministers to fellowship, and a cordial intercourse began which lasted till the disruption, in 1843. In 1838 the government agreed to equalize the *Regium Donum*, paying £75 per annum to every minister, both of the Ulster and Secession Synods. This, with the previous purgation of the Ulster Synod, opened the way for a reunion, which was first proposed in 1839, by the students of the two Churches studying together at Belfast, under Dr. Edgar of the Secession Church. After various preliminary movements, the two bodies were united at Belfast, on the 10th day of July, 1840, as the "General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland," each Synod retaining its own organization for financial purposes, in execution of the trusts committed to it. This first Assembly was attended by a deputation from the Church of Scotland, consisting of the Rev. Patrick Macfarlane, the Rev. James Begg, the Rev. Robert M. M'Cheyne, and David Maitland Makgill Crichton, Esq. Two missionaries, the Rev. James Glasgow and the Rev. Alexander Kerr, were at the same time set apart for the work in India. The number of Seceding congregations added were one hundred and forty-one, making in all three hundred and thirty-three.

The union gave new life to Presbyterianism in Ireland, and increased the political importance of the body. In the great struggles of the Scotch Church in 1843, it warmly espoused the cause of non-intrusion. About the same time, its marriages between Episcopalians and Presbyterians having been pronounced illegal by the English judges, it obtained an Act of Par-

liament (1844) warranting such unions, though the Established Church is still the only one that can marry parties without reference to their denomination, which has tended to make the Episcopalians seem more numerous. The true proportion in 1853 was that of three to two in favor of the Presbyterians. Although few of the Irish aristocracy have ever been Presbyterians, many have joined this Church from the Establishment as well as other sects, and it has sustained no sensible loss by secession. It is more free from pauperism than either of the other great denominations. In various parts of Ulster the old gentry of the country have disappeared, and Presbyterians enriched by trade have taken their places. And besides its prosperity at home, the Church is represented in America by descendants of its former members, three times more numerous than all the Presbyterians now in Ireland. Since 1846 there has been an angry controversy in the Church itself as to the location of a college, which has resulted in the institution of two—one at Derry, for general as well as theological instruction, founded on a princely testamentary endowment; and the other at Belfast, for theology alone, the other branches of instruction being furnished by the new Queen's College at that place, and the government supporting both the faculties.

But even while these controversies were in progress their unfortunate efforts were in a great measure neutralized and counteracted by the spiritual and organic growth of the whole body, as evinced by its devotion to the work of missions, its aggressive movements in all suitable directions, and the systematic organization of these movements on a somewhat novel and peculiar



plan, but one which seems to be fully justified by its results. A Board, elected by the Presbyteries, has a general supervision of the schemes or enterprises of the Church; but over each field of operation is a single minister, who makes that field his province and his study, and is looked to for information and for counsel with respect to its officers.

The last six years have been years of undisturbed peace and of steady growth, distinguished by the energetic working of the old schemes, and the starting of some new ones, such as that for building manses, and another for increasing the salaries of ill-paid ministers, increased attention to the state of practical religion, the observance of the Sabbath, the reformation of manners, and the education of the people. With a pardonable pride, if we may use the term in this connection, the historian looks back, through the vista of two hundred and fifty years, to the time of the plantation and the military organization, and contrasts those weak beginnings, not only with the intervening lapses and recoveries, but with the present spectacle of one united Presbyterian body, made up of five Synods, six and thirty Presbyteries, and above five hundred churches, with an average income of one hundred and seventeen pounds to every minister, besides its representatives in many a home and foreign field of labor. "Never at any period of the past has the Presbyterian Church of Ireland been more united in doctrine, more efficient in her ministrations, or more prosperous, socially and spiritually, than at present; ready to enter on, and, with God's blessing, to carry to a successful issue any great and good work that lies

fairly in her way. *And even yet she scarcely knows her own strength.*"

A striking comment on these words is afforded by the great awakening which has taken place since they were written, and in which the voice of God still says to his people in that suffering yet highly favored island, "THE JOY OF THE LORD IS YOUR STRENGTH."

THE END.























